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FBIS-EEU-94-206 *25 October 1994*

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NOTICE TO READERS: The processing indicators appearing in brackets at the start of each item in this publication have been changed. All indicators now begin with "FBIS" to make the material more easily identifiable in databases. Some also indicate whether the item has been translated from the vernacular or transcribed from English.

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Court Rejects Committee Stance on Trial

LD2410221194 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1900 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Albanian Committee of Helsinki points out some irregularities in the procedures during the investigation of the five Albanian citizens of Greek origin. To this end, this committee addressed to the Supreme Court of Albania.

Concerning this problem, the Court of the Appeal and the Tirana court (?deferred) that such an attitude of the Albanian Committee of Helsinki is irresponsible and the trial against the five Albanian citizens of Greek origin has been opened in full accordance with the legal procedures. Not an organism or institution has made remarks on the way this trial took place so far. On the contrary, the evaluations have been very positive.

The jury of the Court of the Appeal considers the stand of the Albanian Committee of Helsinki as an [word indistinct] into the internal affairs of this court and a violation of its independence. This court considers the statement of the Albanian Committee of Helsinki as not correct but based on the groundless remarks and objections. They do not correspond to the reality. The court power is not at all interested in the aims of such statements. What matters to it is the independence and the noninterference into its affairs by anyone, ends the statement of the Tirana court and the Court of the Appeal of Albania.

Democratic Alliance To Boycott Nov Referendum

LD2410221294 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1900 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The statement by the party of the Democratic Alliance makes known that its national assembly, summoned on 22 October 1994 in Tirana, decided to boycott the referendum of 6 November and invite the electorate to call the political strike on that day. Democratic Alliance party is of the opinion that the political strike is an efficient form of protest against the drastic violations of the procedures for the approval of the constitution, against the extraordinary competences of the president, against the lack of the independence of the court power and the local power, and against the articles that run counter with the basic principles of a democratic parliamentary republic. Democratic Alliance party hopes its electorate and Albanian people will not allow the power of medieval laws be installed in Albania.

Reportage on Defense Minister's Visit to China

WA2510112794

For reportage on Albanian Defense Minister Safet Zhulali's visit to China, please see the International Affairs East Europe section of the 24 October China DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

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Visiting Russians Discuss Energy Cooperation

AU2410191494 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Nikita Shervashidze, chairman of the Committee for Power Supply, today received a Russian Government delegation led by Yuriy Grekov, deputy minister for foreign economic relations of the Russian Federation. During their talks it was established that work is well-advanced on drafting the agreements on cooperation in the conventional energy industry and on forming a Bulgarian-Russian joint stock company in the nuclear energy industry.

The Russian delegation showed interest in the possibilities for completing construction of the Belene nuclear power station. Shervashidze said he thinks that the feelings in political circles and of the population in the region around the Belene site has changed recently in a favorable direction, but that the more serious problem is to find funds for investing in the project. According to Shervashidze, the completion of the Belene power station is impossible without Russian participation. However, to complete the construction work, it is also necessary to attract Western investors.

Officials Discuss 'Deepening' Energy Problems

AU2410191294 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Reneta Indzhova today held talks with Nikita Shervashidze, chairman of the Committee for Power Supply. Shervashidze briefed her on the unresolved and deepening problems in the energy sector.

SDS, Union Groups Sign Election Agreements

AU2410191594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 24 Oct 94

[Report by Antoaneta Puncheva]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] today concluded a political agreement on cooperation, during the election campaign, with the National Trade Union led by Plamen Darakchiev and the Association of Democratic Trade Unions, whose chairman is Ivan Taushanov. The two trade union organizations agreed to disseminate and explain the SDS program through their structures, as well as to ensure democratic conditions for the elections by supplying escorts, observers, and electoral commission members.

The SDS coalition did not commit itself to selecting candidates supported by the trade unions; it will, however, insist on the holding of new trade union elections after the parliamentary elections.

After the signing of the agreement, Darakchiev commented that this is the first such agreement between a trade union and a political force.

The leaderships of the SDS and the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] Confederation,formed last week by six agrarian organizations, discussed the possibilities for concluding a political agreement. These negotiations are to continue.

SDS Official on Vote, Relations With Zhelev

AU2410150294 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 20 Oct 94 p 11

[Interview with Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces, by Monika Yanova, place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Yanova] Mr. Dimitrov, are you really pleased that a date has now been set for the elections?

[Dimitrov] Yes. This great success was achieved through a number of lesser political successes. In the end, we forced Berov's government to resign, despite the fact that the mafia wanted to keep him in power. We forced the communist party [Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP] to accept elections, although it was more convenient for it to maintain some kind of dubious government behind which it could continue to govern the country secretly.

[Yanova] The forecasts say, however, that the BSP will win the elections.

[Dimitrov] Nonsense. In 1991 these same forecasters predicted we would win 18 percent of the votes, while Dertliev [leader of Bulgarian Social Democratic Party] would get 20 percent. The political conditions and many lessons of the recent past are also on our side. With each passing day, more people are being stirred out of their apathy and feelings of hopelessness.

[Yanova] It is said that you want to lose the elections so you can remain the opposition. Is this so?

[Dimitrov] Of course not. Look at the facts: We have been in the opposition since 1 January 1993. For almost two years we have been fighting every day to bring about these elections. If we liked being in the opposition so much, we could have simply continued the parliamentary game, right until the end of 1995.

However, precisely because we did not want to remain in the opposition any longer and could not come to terms with the Berov administration, we did not agree with Savov's parliamentary game. We did not permit the communist party to provide itself with a second cabinet like Berov's. We did all this because we want elections so we can win them, which we will certainly do.

[Yanova] Have you considered that if the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] loses the elections, that will mean the end for you as the coalition's leader?

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[Dimitrov] An election defeat would have other, far more harmful consequences for Bulgaria. However, I think we will win the elections.

[Yanova] Yes, but the BSP wants elections as well. Surely it wants them precisely because it thinks it will win them?

[Dimitrov] They could not do anything else. They overthrew the SDS cabinet so as to govern themselves, secretly. Remember how they evaded their mandate through the issue of Petur Boyadzhiev's citizenship. They did not want to take responsibility for the looting carried out by the mafia they themselves created or for the nation's utter destitution. Over the last 20 months, the income of the average Bulgarian has been literally wiped out. However, the communist party wanted this to be carried out by someone with no responsibility, like Prof. Berov, and reiterated everywhere and on every possible occasion that the SDS was in power. The no-confidence votes helped to some extent to decide the issue of elections, as did the parliamentary boycott. How can they assert that we are in power when not one of our deputies was in the parliamentary debating chamber? [passage omitted]

[Yanova] I would like to ask you about your relations with President Zhelev.

[Dimitrov] It was my unhappy fate to have to take all the blows dealt in the clash between him and parliament. Despite this, throughout that whole period I sought a reasonable compromise, both because of my own convictions (I have often explained why I think the Turnovo Constitution is the best one) and on pragmatic grounds.

It is ridiculous to make a scene because the head of state—who, under the Constitution, makes ambassadorial appointments—wants to display activity in the field of foreign policy. It is true that he does not have the apparatus of a foreign ministry, but our Foreign Ministry is supposed to help him utilize his rank in suitable circumstances. Our foreign policy should at least be a national concern.

Of course conditions might arise for a clash between the institutions, such as if—God forbid—a president who would drag us into the Orthodox orbit were elected. Then we would know how to oppose him. However, it was ridiculous for such a clash to develop because of Stoyan Ganev's little games or Stefan Savov's great ambitions.

[Yanova] Does this mean that you are offering your hand to the president and generously forgetting all the bitterness of the past?

[Dimitrov] I entered politics temporarily, with the aim of finishing the job. For this reason I was able, if it was in Bulgaria's interest, to support for years even people who got on my nerves. My feelings are of no importance, but the fate of the state is important.

I opposed the president in the strongest possible manner in the summer of 1993, when I believed he was acting contrary to the Constitution. However, I sought a compromise and tried to maintain an equilibrium between him and the SDS parliamentary group throughout the first half of 1992, because I felt this clash would bring nothing good and because I think one cannot deny a lawfully elected president's right to be active in the field of foreign policy.

It cannot be denied that Zhelev followed a sensible pro-European and pro-NATO foreign policy and a well-balanced policy in the Balkans. In my view, this is the only acceptable foreign policy for us. I cannot have any differences with the president on this. [passage omitted]

RDP President on Decision To Stay in SDS

AU2410144294 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 17 Oct 94 p 9

[Interview of Elka Konstantinova, honorary president of the Radical Democratic Party, by Valeriya Veleva; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Veleva] Mrs. Konstantinova, were you surprised by the RDP [Radical Democratic Party] congress deciding to remain in the SDS coalition?

[Konstantinova] Once the party decides on something, that's that. Personally, I will not remain in the SDS. But I will stay in the RDP, and this obliges me to be in the SDS as well.

[Veleva] Will you accept resolutions on the work of the RDP that the SDS National Coordinating Council may adopt?

[Konstantinova] No, I certainly will not! I cannot submit to decisions by the SDS, because it is a Bolshevik organization.

[Veleva] Why did the congress make such a decision?

[Konstantinova] Because many people came in from the provinces to cast their votes. In addition to this, the people from the small towns did not follow the line taken by those from large towns such as Vratsa, Veliko Turnovo, Lovech, Dobrich, and Ruse, all of whom voted to leave the SDS. People have not matured. They are disoriented and do not know the truth about the SDS.

[Veleva] Do you feel your opponents manipulated the congress?

[Konstantinova] I cannot say that. The congress was dramatic because the situation in Bulgaria is dramatic, especially the situation within the SDS. People talk very intelligently, very calmly, so I am very distraught that so many intelligent and reasonable people were misled by the fear that all will be lost if we are outside the SDS.

I am convinced of the opposite: that the RDP will lose as a party if it stays in the SDS. We will lose our individuality and be trampled underfoot, because the people in the National Coordinating Council will constantly humiliate us.

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In my speech I pointed out that it is neither pragmatic nor sensible to humiliate a politician or a political force. When you humiliate someone, others will not respect him, and we are a party that deserves respect. The RDP has always held honorable and worthy positions. Our people have simply shown a lack of boldness, and I find this very sad. They did not have the courage and audacity to say: "No, we cannot stay in a disintegrating organization; we cannot remain with people who have carried out heaven-knows-how-many coups throughout Bulgaria! We should have had the courage to declare that we were leaving. How can we remain in a council that expelled Savov's party [the Democratic Party]? The National Coordinating Council is forcing us out too. The RDP has been driven out of 22 localities in Bulgaria. Do you know of any Radical Democrat who has driven anyone out or split a party formation?

The SDS did it. Those people in the National Coordinating Council destroyed everything! When I tour Bulgaria, everyone tells me: "Stay clear of these people. They will be the ruin of you!"

They let power slip from their hands once, then twice subsequently they nominated Filip Dimitrov [for prime minister]. I said to him: "Filip, withdraw so that we can save ourselves. Play the role of a uniting figure!"

Would he do this? No, he would not! And now they are going around trying to break up our party. I feel pain for the RDP, because I have devoted my life to this party. When they destroy it, what remains in the SDS? A couple of people will remain from the Federation of Students Associations, people who five or six years ago were mere students.

The Civic Initiative Movement will remain, the former creature of Sobadzhiev. The entire party consists of three cochairmen and two presidents.

Then there is the Christian-Democratic Union, which has precisely 18 members—I know this from the computer list. There will be no one else left in the SDS.

The RDP has 4,000 active members, no other party is bigger. What a pity this has come about!

[Veleva] How do you view the RDP's future following this decision?

[Konstantinova] Let everyone do what he or she likes! We are free people, we will not submit to orders, you'll see! We submit to the decisions of the congress, but it is all a matter of individual conscience and behavior.

[Veleva] Did you congratulate Aleksandur Yordanov in gaining victory for his viewpoint?

[Konstantinova] No, what do I have to congratulate him for? I knew he would win, because the stronger party always wins. I knew this would happen. Cunning conquers, political expertise in winning people over by populism always triumphs. That's how it is. Politics is a dirty business! I never had any hope of winning.

[Veleva] What do you contemplate doing in the future?

[Konstantinova] I am giving up politics. I know that the SDS will lose the elections. People are sick of the National Coordinating Council. I have already started giving lectures. I will resume my literary activities, work in the Citizen Club, and maintain my links with my friends in the RDP. I will not betray my principles.

[Veleva] What will you remember these last four years for?

[Konstantinova] For enthusiasm, faith, and many illusions. What happened four years ago will never happen again. I regret nothing. Let us be strong and healthy. The existence of divergent opinions in the party is not the most important thing. Once the majority has decided, we have to obey.

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Iraq Expresses Interest in Economic Relations

AU2510093694 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 Oct 94 p 23

[Interview with 'Abd al-Hadi Ahmad, charge d'affaires of the Republic of Iraq in Prague, by Miroslav Prchal; place and date not given: "In the Event of the Abolition of Sanctions Against Iraq, Many Firms Are Ready To Cooperate"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Former Czechoslovakia was one of the most important exporters of capital goods and engineering products to Iraq, and the sanctions declared by the United Nations against Iraq undeniably also damage the foreign trade interests of the Czech Republic severely," 'Abd al-Hadi Ahmad, charge d'affaires of the Republic of Iraq in Prague, said in an interview for HOSPODARSKE NOVINY. He added that a wide range of Iraqi petrochemical industry facilities equipped with Czechoslovak technology badly need spare parts from enterprises in the Czech Republic.

At the UN Security Council meeting on 16 October, no decision was made to lift the anti-Iraqi sanctions. Of the permanent members of the UN Security Council, the United States and Great Britain are against, and Russia and France are for lifting the sanctions.

'Abd al-Hadi Ahmad stated that representatives of dozens of Western firms have concluded preliminary agreements on cooperation in Baghdad that are to become valid as soon as the sanctions are lifted and that it is now supposedly "the eleventh hour" for Czech enterprises that were once active in Iraq "not to miss the train."

"Until 1990, Iraq was one of Czechoslovakia's strongest and most stable trading partners, with which Czechoslovakia always had a huge surplus in the balance of trade and payments. Following the planned construction of the pipeline from Ingolstadt in Bavaria to the Czech Republic, you will be able to import also our crude oil, which could made our relations more balanced," he said.

In the past, Czechoslovakia supplied, for example, oil refinery equipment that produces 60-70 percent of Iraq's overall output. In addition, it built a plant for the production of components and for the assembly of Zetor tractors, took part in a major irrigation project, built a number of turnkey plants, such as brickworks, glassworks, and ceramic factories, and delivered machinery for the textile industry, pumps, refrigerating equipment, and the like, 'Abd al-Hadi Ahmad recalled. Moreover, hundreds of experts were active in Iraq within the framework of international assistance. "Unfortunately, the crisis in the Gulf suspended these relations, which were beneficial, first and foremost, for Czechoslovakia," he stated and termed the sanctions declared by the UN Security Council against Iraq "unjust."

According to the Iraqi charge d'affaires, these sanctions are less damaging to large industrial powers such as the United States, France, and Germany, which were among Iraq's major trading partners, than they are to small states such as the Czech Republic, for whose engineering production his country represented a sizable market. He voiced the view that, "as a nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council, the Czech Republic should pursue mainly its own economic interests when voting on abolishing the economic boycott of Iraq. Incidentally, this is what all countries do, whether they are small or big." He claimed that Iraq has already fulfilled the UN Security Council resolutions. The boycott reportedly disrupted the development of the Iraqi economy and damaged, above all, the weakest strata of the population. One-third of the 1 million Iraqis who have died as a consequence of shortages of food and medicine were children, he said.

Note on the interview: The representative of Iraq in the Czech Republic naturally conveys his own angle of vision of the complex conflict between the world community and his country. From the viewpoint of the victims of the sanctions, which do not have any impact on the leading representatives of the Iraqi regime, but only on the weakest and most vulnerable sections of the population, he is certainly right in that the economic embargo declared by the UN Security Council affects them and only them. He is probably also right in that the sanctions do not substantially damage the interests of large firms from countries of economic giants such as the United States, Germany, and France, but, rather, damage firms from smaller states such as the Czech Republic. However, no matter how one-sided and unjust the UN resolutions pertaining to Iraq may seem to the government or the people of this severely tested Arab country in this or that respect, the condition for the world community to be able to revoke its embargo and for individual countries to be able to normalize their economic relations with Iraq is its very strict and unconditional compliance with those resolutions. The recent deployment of Iraqi troops near the border with Kuwait was obviously not the most suitable signal for the United Nations that the sanctions against Iraq should be dropped, both in the interest of this starved country and for the benefit of small countries such as the Czech Republic, which could profit from their abolition.

Estonia Wants Free Trade Zone With CR

LD2410184094 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In his talks with Ivan Kocarnik, Czech deputy prime minister and finance minister, Estonian Prime Minister Mart Laar spoke about the need for the rapid improvement of economic and trade relations between the Czech Republic [CR] and Estonia. He said he was very dissatisfied with the stagnating trade exchange, which was not in keeping with either the potential or the will of the two countries. He said that the CR and Estonia, as countries with [word indistinct] and open economies, should quickly sign a mutual free trade zone agreement that would be beneficial for both countries.

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Agreement on Free Trade Zone With Romania Signed

LD2410171594 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] An agreement on a free trade zone between the Czech Republic and Romania has been signed in Prague by the prime ministers of the two countries, Vaclav Klaus and Nicolae Vacaroiu.

Klaus said that the document should come into force on 1 January 1995.

The tarriff-free movement of goods between the Czech Republic and Romania will apply to over 50 percent of industrial production. The current customs duty will be cut by 25 percent until 1998, and, at the same time, some customs levies in agriculture will be lowered.

Hailed by Prime Minister

LD2410180794 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A Romanian delegation led by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu arrived in the Czech Republic today for a two-day visit. Our correspondent Zita Senkova sums up the first day of talks with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus:

[Senkova] [Passage omitted] At a news conference, the two prime ministers, Nicolae Vacaroiu and Vaclav Klaus, said the signed documents represent a new dimension in bilateral relations and that they impart more dynamism to them. According to Klaus, the current visit of the Romanian delegation is a fruitful continuation of the meeting between the two prime ministers in Bucharest a year ago. The two prime ministers are able to say that mutual relations are good and friendly. This is demonstrated by a number of agreements that the two states concluded. Where, in the view of Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, does the main significance of the signed agreement lie?

[Begin Klaus recording] Today's free-trade zone agreement with the Republic of Romania is yet another expression of the Czech Republic's offensive approach to doing away with protectionism and trade discrimination on all fronts. [passage omitted] [end recording]

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HZDS, SNS Issue Communique After Talks

AU2410144794 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 19 Oct 94 p 4

[Communique issued by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and the Slovak National Party following their talks in Bratislava on 18 October]

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and the Slovak National Party [SNS] met at HZDS Headquarters in Bratislava on 18 October 1994 and held their first consultations in the second round of coalition negotiations on forming a new Slovak Government. The HZDS was represented by Deputy Chairman Sergej Kozlik, Secretary Ivan Lexa, and Political Board member Milan Rehak. The SNS was represented by Chairman Jan Slota, Honorary Chairmen Vitazoslav Moric and Jozef Prokes, and Deputy Chairwoman Eva Slavkovska.

They briefed each other on the outcome of the first round of negotiations and agreed that further coalition agreements with other political entities are possible only after mutual consultations and agreements.

They underlined the affinity between their programs and their concurring views on the next course of action to be taken in laying down the conditions and possibilities for forming a stable coalition government that will last for four years. In view of the negative stance adopted by the Hungarian Coalition Council toward holding first-round talks with the victorious HZDS-RSS [HZDS-Farmers' Party of Slovakia] coalition, they agreed that the circle of political entities involved in the second round of talks should be narrowed to the Christian Democratic Movement, the Party of the Democratic Left, and the Association of Workers of Slovakia. In this connection, they expressed their disquiet at the indications that the coalition government has already been formed, but without the HZDS and with the participation of the Hungarian parties. These indications are confirmed by last week's signals from the Coalition Council of the current governing parties and the Hungarian Coalition and the statement made by [Hungarian Civic Party Chairman] Laszlo Nagy on 15 October, following the Hungarian Magazine program broadcast on Slovak Television 2. At the same time, the two partners consider the statement on suspending privatization, made by the provisional government's Coalition Council before the election, to have been aimed at deceiving the voters, and they agreed that the current Cabinet of J. Moravcik has no moral right to make any decisions on privatization.

SNS Makes Statement in Support of Jan Slota

AU2410144594 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 19 Oct 94 p 3

[Statement issued by Dobroslava Krajacicova, press secretary of the Slovak National Party; place and date not given: "Jan Slota Won Our Trust Again"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Jan Slota was elected Slovak National Party [SNS] chairman at an SNS Extraordinary Assembly in Zilina on 19 February 1994. At that time, ill-wishers expressed the opinion that a person with so much radicalism is not suitable for this post. However, they were perturbed not only by his radicalism, but also by his national and Slovak emphasis, which former Chairman L. Cernak seems to have forgotten. The so-called independent mass media, in particular, constantly criticized Slota and strived with all its might to artificially create all sorts of scandals, large and small, which damaged not only the reputation of the chairman, but also the reputation of the SNS.

The SNS Central Council [UR] convened in Zilina on 15 October. The most eagerly awaited item on the agenda was perhaps the assessment of the results of the parliamentary election and, associated with them, the chairman's offer to resign. Those who thought the UR SNS would accept his offer and thus express no confidence in him were indeed downright mistaken. The UR SNS did not accept Slota's offer. Why?

When the Methodological-Research Department of Slovak Radio conducted a public opinion poll between 11 and 16 March 1994, the SNS received only 2.1-percent support. The amount of support increased immediately after the new leadership assumed office and reached 8.8 percent in July. At the same time, the SNS had few possibilities to get its views across. Only SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA and, from time to time, Radiozurnal did their best to accommodate us.

The new party leadership, which succeeded Cernak, did not have an easy task. As a consequence of the factional activity of Cernak, the SNS was weak and divided. The Slovak National Party, the oldest party, with a 132-year tradition, was in an unenviable position. Therefore, in view of the aforementioned situation, winning 5.4 percent of the vote was a success. On the other hand, the SNS's satisfaction over its participation in parliament is clouded by the greater number of mandates won by the Hungarian political entities. This fact has already been manifested in the postelection activities of the Hungarian political parties and movements in southern Slovakia, activities that are very alarming for our young state. The UR SNS, therefore, also expressed its full support for Igor Chamula, a former SNS deputy in the National Council of the Slovak Republic, in his campaign for civil rights in connection with carrying out his profession and guaranteeing his protection.

The Slovak National Party and also the other political entities now face another serious task—preparing for the local elections. Forming a new stable government that will last for four years, which should be a guarantee for calming the domestic political situation in Slovakia, is even more important.

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SDL Refuses To 'Ease Up' on Coalition Terms

AU2410122294 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 19 Oct 94 p 7

[Interview with Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left, by Vladimir Misauer; place and date not given: "Party of the Democratic Left Has Not Eased Up on Its Conditions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Despite the fact that more than two weeks have elapsed since the early parliamentary election in Slovakia, it is still not clear whether the victorious Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] will form a coalition government that will have a majority in the National Council. One of the factors that could reverse this situation was the meeting of the Republican Council of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] on the weekend. In the event of personnel changes at the meeting, because of the SDL's electoral debacle, a change in the party's attitude toward the formation of a government coalition with the HZDS was to be expected. However, SDL Chairman Peter Weiss received confidence until the party congress. After the weekend meeting, he answered questions from LIDOVE NOVINY.

[Misauer] Your staying in your post certainly did not please certain Slovak politicians. But what does it mean for the SDL?

[Weiss] It means that the SDL has decided to solve its situation after the election in a politically normal and civilized way, through businesslike dialogue. It has been confirmed that the SDL is not going to yield to pressure to split.

[Misauer] After the Republican Council meeting, you announced that you intend to change the style of your policy. Will this also apply to the SDL's maneuvering, for which you have often been reproached?

[Weiss] This "maneuvering" originated from the former distribution of forces when we had a minority government in Slovakia, and also from the fact that we let ourselves be dragged into the solution of problems that the SDL had not caused, and that we tried too much to reach consensus even in situations where we should have implemented our own policy. We want to change the latter.

[Misauer] You are in a similar situation now. Slovakia is waiting for a new government. Are you willing to go into a coalition with the HZDS?

[Weiss] We respect the results of the elections, which showed that it is not possible to establish a stable government without the HZDS. The HZDS's problem is that it has won and must create political conditions in order to find coalition partners. We are prepared to negotiate with everyone, including the HZDS.

[Misauer] The HZDS has raised several conditions for creating a coalition government. The most visible one concerns the president's resignation. Are you willing to accept those conditions?

[Weiss] The Republican Council has reconfirmed the standpoint that the SDL is against the dismissal of the president, against purposeful changes to the Constitution, and against replacing the parliamentary system with the presidential one. We are against changing the constitutional status of deputies, and we support the establishing of parliamentary bodies on the basis of the proportional system. These are conditions with which we are entering talks with parliamentary parties.

[Misauer] Are you willing to ease up on them?

[Weiss] The Republican Council laid them down for us, and we respect them.

[Misauer] So, you are not going to ease up?

[Weiss] The Republican Council would have to change its decision.

[Misauer] If the HZDS were to ease up on its conditions, what would happen?

[Weiss] The SDL's possible joining the coalition must be decided by the Republican Council, but we are also prepared to be active in opposition. I repeat, it is the HZDS's move now. We are not going to solve problems that have to be solved by the election winner.

[Misauer] Would you be willing to join a narrower coalition comprising the HZDS, the Slovak National Party, and the SDL?

[Weiss] We are in favor of a wider coalition. We do not shun discussion with any parliamentary entity, but, apart from political conditions, programmatic conditions must also be met. I believe that the option comprising the HZDS, the Slovak National Party, and the SDL is very unlikely from the viewpoint of their programs.

[Misauer] If there is a possibility of concluding a wider coalition with the Christian Democratic Movement, would you insist on the participation of the Democratic Union?

[Weiss] I have said several times that an alliance between the election winner and the participants in the existing coalition would be an optimal solution for Slovakia because this would be an alliance of parties that have experience in the government. Moreover, the SDL, the Christian Democratic Movement, and the Democratic Union have contacts abroad, which would help Slovakia. But all of this is subject to further talks.

Possible Coalition With HZDS

LD2410154294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today's briefing by the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] confirmed that journalists were especially interested in what was going on in this party. The point is that, after the second round of coalition talks among the members of the current ruling

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coalition, this party appears to be, under certain conditions, the only possible coalition partner for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. [passage omitted]

Nora Parikova has asked the SDL chairman, Peter Weiss, for more details. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Parikova] From what the HZDS Deputy Chairman Sergej Kozlik said at the talks on 21 October, one could deduce that a certain softening of the HZDS approach toward the head of state has taken place. Can you confirm this?

[Weiss] We made clear our opposition to the dismissal of the president. The point at issue, as we see it, is the stability of constitutional bodies. I also asked whether the HZDS would initiate a parliamentary commission to investigate the president's work. I learned that the HZDS intended to do this. We said we could not very well imagine how we could innocently watch the HZDS and other political parties giving their approval for this investigation commission to be set up, when, at the same time, we would be sitting in the government along with the HZDS. Part One of Article 55a of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, which deals with procedural order, clearly says that the National Council of the Slovak Republic can set up an investigation commission from among its deputies to explain actions of special importance affecting public interest, which come under National Council jurisdiction, and to establish the circumstances under which these actions occurred. The National Council thus cannot set up any other commission.

[Parikova] Would a possible coalition with the HZDS not jeopardize your joining the Socialist International?

[Weiss] I think that the partner parties in the Socialist International will respect every decision we make because our decision will have to be made with regard to our good knowledge of the conditions in our country. [end recording]

More on Joining Government

LD2410194994 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], assessed the situation before the third and probably decisive round of talks with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] about the possibility of the SDL's participating in the new Slovak Government. Our special correspondent Martin Dorazin reports from Bratislava.

[Dorazin] The biggest mistake the SDL made after the election in 1992 was that it let itself be dragged into parliamentary squabbles initiated by other political parties and thus lost time that should have been devoted to the voters. This is what Peter Weiss said when speaking about the SDL election failure within the left-wing coalition of four, the Joint Choice.

At the same time, he responded to the recent pronouncement of Pavol Kanis, representative of the pro-Meciar wing in the SDL, who said that the SDL's joining the coalition government in March of this year was a historic mistake.

On the contrary, Weiss thinks that the confrontational way of running the government and the inability to make use of cooperation as a basis for work was a mistake. This is clearly a hint at Vladimir Meciar's political style.

This comment by the SDL leader testifies to the fact that the tandem Weiss-Meciar would not be realistic.

By refusing to vote on Peter Weiss's offer to resign, the SDL National Council confirmed that the SDL would preserve its autonomous position right up to its congress scheduled for February. To this, the SDL chairman added that the [SDL] National Council has set limits that cannot be exceeded. The HZDS demands, such as the attempt to dismiss President Kovac, go beyond these limits, though.

If an agreement on bringing HZDS and SDL policy closer together, including their views on economic and social policy, fails to materialize, there is only one option for the SDL, and that is to go into opposition, Peter Weiss said.

Daily Accuses U.S. Press of 'Disinformation'

AU2410124394 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 20 Oct 94 p 7

[Commentary by Lubomir Hudo: "U.S. Lamentation and Disinformation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The geographical knowledge of most U.S. students is often incredibly baffling. Surveys of young Americans' geography knowledge show that orientation in Europe, particularly East and Central Europe, is as difficult for them as it was for the discoverer of America immediately after he discovered the unknown continent. Young people with prospects have a chance to expand their horizons when they come to the old continent and learn from the "natives" what the difference is between Czechs and Slovaks, Slovaks and Slovenes, or Ukrainians and Russians.

It is shocking, however, when experienced U.S. journalists who are considered experts on the Slovak and Czech domestic political situation demonstrate in the press to their readers their ignorance regarding European borders after the fall of the Iron Curtain. This makes their analyses of developments in Slovakia and the neighboring countries all the more convincing for our people. It is not the first time. We experienced the overseas experts' heartbreaking fear and guaranteed 100-percent

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reliable predictions regarding further developments before and during the establishment of independent Slovakia.

The CHICAGO TRIBUNE has published a series of articles about Central and East Europe. At the beginning of this week, it published an article devoted to the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. Right on the front page, the reader could be attracted by the title: "Czechs and Slovaks: Uneven Division." Everything is made clear at the very beginning by the claim "Prosperity in Prague, misery in Bratislava." The reader also learns that the reason for the disintegration of Czechoslovakia in 1993 was strong Slovak nationalism.

R.C. Longworth, the author, writes from Prague that Slovakia has had two spasms of abortive attempts at privatization, one of which was incomplete, the other marked by widespread corruption. The policy of the governments that implemented this process is only a weak caricature of democracy. Present-day Slovakia is collapsing because of recession, nationalism, old communist habits, and the desire for alliance with Russia. Apart from this, the U.S. reader finds out that, after the breakup of the federation, we inherited borders with Russia (that is, not with Ukraine, the existence of which is apparently ignored in the United States) and that Slovakia is a pro-Russian peninsula between Russia and the West, dividing Central and East Europe into two parts.

Gwyne Dyer in THE ST. CATHARINES STANDARD also predicts years of misery and hardship for Slovakia. She even predicts the risk of Yugoslav-style violence because most appeals by Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, are characterized by unrelenting hostility toward the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. Publicist Dyer did not forget to stress that, in the "good old" federation, Vladimir Meciar would never have gained decisive power because his Slovak nationalist demagoguery would not appeal to the majority of Czechs.

Until recently, Moscow used to dictate to us what to do, and how. The tide has changed, and today "our eyes are being opened" from beyond the ocean.

Journalist on Preoccupation With Country's Image

95CH0003B Prague PRAGUE POST in English 4 Oct 94 p 15

[Commentary by Seema Sirohi: "Thuggish Tactics Won't Improve Slovakia's Image"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In the race for modernization, transformation, acceptance and assimilation into Western Europe, some Slovaks feel they are being constantly undermined by a unique enemy—the foreign correspondent.

His pen spews unfair tirades against the tiny nation of 5 million, prejudicing foreign investors, human-rights activists and the international community. He is responsible for the image some business people and governments have of Slovakia as backward—way behind the galloping Czechs, the solid Hungarians and the earnest Poles.

A group of Slovaks subscribes to this theory, including former Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, who appears set to win the most votes in the September 30-October 1 national elections. He and others blame every problem in the country on the "bad image of Slovakia" created by foreign, mainly Western journalists.

It is not uncommon to be invited to press conferences in Bratislava and be questioned—often rather aggressively—about why journalists cannot be "objective."

There is actually an association that was formed to promote the "truthful picture of Slovakia." Its members are known to corner foreign journalists and quiz them about randomly selected articles, often written by other correspondents.

Recently, a group of Slovak journalists who subscribe to the "image theory" organized a press conference with Meciar for foreign correspondents. The press conference went relatively smoothly, monitored by about 10 "truthful picture" advocates. Yet after Meciar's departure it turned into a free-for-all.

The "image police," who came equipped with "evidence," began questioning those present about their methods, inclinations, persuasions and competence. They flashed articles, underlined and highlighted, and expressed their anger against the supposed one-sided flow of information. Some foreign journalists, put on the defensive, then engaged in a fruitless argument.

I am not a "Western" journalist, and what I write probably is not mentioned by the image people since it appears in faraway Calcutta. But I find these methods of "persuasion" objectionable. They are counterproductive and serve to alienate foreigners even more.

Being an Indian and having been frustrated and angered by a generation of foreign correspondents who never went beyond the news/corruption/poverty triad of stories, I am no friend of the instant Western analysis that condemns a country to the dungeons of darkness. But nor am I in favor of the methods adopted by some in Slovakia who feel they can "beat" sense into journalists by berating them.

If Slovakia in the past has been written about in negative terms, that is for some very obvious reasons. To give two examples, leaders of the Hungarian minority traditionally have been louder in condemning Slovak policies than Slovak leaders have been in defending them, and regular defections from Meciar's government and its ultimate fall in March gave outsiders the impression that he was a difficult person.

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The former prime minister's open animosity toward President Michal Kovac and Kovac's decision to reveal all in a state-of-the-union address added to the perception that Slovakia is politically unstable.

These are facts, and journalists merely reported them. But it is true that Westerners feel the Czechs are pacing ahead while the Slovaks are bogged down in too many changes of government.

However, the question of image is broader. Objectivity in journalism goes only to a point, and after that it is impressions, feelings and one's own knowledge, or lack thereof, of a country. And impressions are often created by access to information, abrupt cancellations of appointments, perceived intentions, cultural misunderstandings, phone manners and language barriers.

Then the geopolitical importance of a country is taken into account. From the Western perspective, you may be a very large, democratic country such as India, but still be a "minor player." You may be small and repressive like Saudi Arabia, but have the confidence of the West because of oil.

Image is often a combination of impressions—however misguided they may be—and of actions. If the privatization process goes one step forward and two steps back, as it seems to be doing in Slovakia, potential foreign investors become uncertain. Meciar's deputies are talking of "re-nationalization" of companies—which hardly helps international confidence.

If indeed the Slovaks want to endear themselves to the Western press, they could begin by convincing Western diplomats and foreign executives in Bratislava, World Bank and IMF decision-makers of the "truthful" picture. It is this group that is the main source of information for foreign journalists flying into the capital.

A certain image of a country begins to emerge after these "talking heads" say what they're really thinking. Resident journalists generally have a wider circle of information.

Slovakia would be better off putting its house in order and worrying less about "image." Businesses will invest if they can make a profit and if the tax laws are clear. But if the laws change with every government, one can hardly expect a steady inflow of foreign money, no matter what the imaage.

Outgoing Government Defends Privatization

AU2410144694

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava SME in Slovak on 17 October on page 4 carries a 400-word statement by Lubomir Lintner, director of the Slovak Government Press Department, entitled "What Aims Does Mr. Ducky Pursue?" In the statement, Lintner reacts to criticism voiced by Jan Ducky, minister of economy in Vladimir Meciar's "shadow cabinet," of the continuation of privatization by Jozef Moravcik's outgoing government. The same issue is also the subject of a 600-word interview with Deputy Prime Minister Brigita Schmognerova by Robert Kotian entitled "It Is Reasonable and Appropriate To Approve Privatization Projects," in the same issue of SME, on pages 1 and 2. The place and date of the interview are not given.

In his statement, Lintner claims that "the so-called privatization moratorium agreed upon by the Coalition Council applied to only the preelection period. Even Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] representatives in the government have agreed with the continuation of privatization after the election, while the present government remains in office." According to Lintner, the continuation of privatization is "inevitable" for two reasons:

"1. The government wants to shorten the period of 'preprivatization agony' in state enterprises, which is reflected in an exceptionally negative way in the results of a formidable part of state enterprises.

"2. As a result of the slowdown, or halting, of privatization under Mr. Meciar's government, the liquidity of the National Property Fund [FNM] in 1994 is jeopardized. The director of the FNM Executive Committee rightly declared that, if the present pace of privatization continues, he will not be able to implement the law on the state budget, according to which the FNM is to appropriate 3.5 billion Slovak korunas [Sk] for developmental targets, of which Sk785 million is to be used to lay foundations for next year's harvest. It is evident that resources for the FNM can be obtained only through the sale of lucrative companies."

Lintner asks "what aims Mr. Ducky pursues when his main argument against some privatization projects is the participation of foreign capital in them." As Lintner points out, a recent study showed that "$400 million annually is the Slovak Republic's minimum requirement for foreign investments, which is a sum that the Slovak Republic has acquired in the entire period of the transformation process thus far." He therefore wonders "how the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia intends to realize its preelection promise of Slovakia's economic development when its statements are directed a priori against foreign investments."

In her interview for SME, Schmognerova confirms that, at the three scheduled government meetings before 3 November, the date of the constituent meeting of the new National Council of the Slovak Republic, the present government will continue to approve privatization projects "provided they are well prepared and that there is unanimity of views of all government members." Asked whether this also concerns the proposed direct sale of shares of five major companies—Benzinol, East Slovak Ironworks, Slovenska Poistovna [Slovak Insurance Company], Slovenska Sporitelna [Slovak Savings Bank], and Investicna a Rozvojova Banka [Investment

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and Development Bank]—Schmognerova says that, in the case of the last three companies, the approval of direct sales would be "premature." She notes, however, that she sees "no reason" for the Moravcik government "not to decide on the sale of Benzinol and East Slovak Ironworks shares," as long as "the results of the tender conform with the criteria agreed upon at the meeting of economic ministers."

Asked whether all three coalition partners agree to the government's postelection privatization activity, Schmognerova says that even KDH ministers who were behind the "preelection privatization moratorium" have "clearly said that there is no reason not to continue the privatization process after the election."

Investors Jittery About Meciar's Return

95CH0003A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 4 Oct 94 p 12

[Article by Michele Kayal: "Investors Wary as Meciar Returns From the Grave"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bratislava—As the specter of Vladimir Meciar once again rises over the Slovak business environment, many entrepreneurs are scrambling to forge deals before the privatization process jump-started by Meciar's successors is once again shut down.

Meciar, who ground Slovak privatization to a halt and discouraged foreign investment in the country before being ousted for the second time as prime minister in March, appears to be staging a political resurrection.

Around 20 percent of Slovak voters say they'll support him in the national elections September 30-October 1, putting him far ahead of the second-place contender, with 12 percent support.

Political jockeying makes it unclear whether Meciar will be able to assemble the majority coalition in parliament necessary to become prime minister.

Nevertheless, some business leaders have a bad case of the jitters.

Euro Consultants International, a London-based project financing firm, fielded nearly a dozen requests in a 10-day period last month from Slovaks who wanted financing guarantees so they could purchase enterprises in privatization before the elections.

"They're desperate to buy these companies before Mr. Meciar comes back," said Euro Consultants director Ron Bellamy.

While some investors are eager to seal deals now, many others are hanging back until after the elections.

"(This is) evident in certain projects that are elevated to a high level where they're waiting to sign the contract," said Otto Cechovic, deputy general director of the Slovak National Agency for Foreign Investment and Development.

Cechovic is currently overseeing 1.6 billion Sk ($51.6 million) worth of such projects.

When Meciar took office for the second time in June 1992, 30 percent of the Slovak economy had been privatized. When he was dismissed nearly two years after a parliamentary no-confidence vote in March 1994, only 3 percent had been added to that total.

Meciar's questionable privatization methods and thuggish international reputation held foreign investment in Slovakia since 1989 at $407 million—a mere 4 percent of the total showered upon the Visegrad four, a grouping that also includes the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland.

The government that replaced him has done its best to court foreign investors and to fire up the privatization process to a rolling boil.

Since taking office six months ago, members of Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik's government have flown around the world, speaking to industrial and business organizations, assuring them Slovakia is a safe place for their money.

"They're beating the bushes to find investors for Slovak companies," said David Frankel, an American advisor at the Slovak Ministry of Privatization. "We've had more visits from foreign investors to get information generally or to do deals about specific companies."

Moravcik's team has approved an average of 25 privatization projects per month and has sealed 50 direct sales of national property. By September 1, it had processed 113 projects worth 83.5 billion Sk ($2.7 billion).

The Privatization Ministry's state secretary, Gabriel Palacka, said that by the time of the elections, 150 projects worth 150 billion Sk ($4.8 billion) should be ready.

By contrast, from July 1993 until he was dismissed, Meciar—who acted as his own privatization minister for much of his term—approved only 71 projects with a book value of 21.8 billion Sk ($700 million).

More than 40 of these projects were approved in the so-called "wild privatization" of Meciar's last four weeks in office, when he faced the parliament's no-confidence vote.

The new government overturned 14 of these decisions, saying that unfair advantages had been given to buyers, many of whom were Meciar supporters.

In four of these cases, Meciar's government approved the projects before the documents were officially received by the Privatization Ministry, said Igor Uhrik, an unpaid advisor from the United States who headed the investigation of "wild privatization."

"What I've seen here is first-hand experience and it's a travesty," said Uhrik, who will return to the United States next month because he has "had enough."

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Meciar's pre-election rhetoric may have influenced these investors.

In speeches to journalists and supporters, Meciar has vowed to slow or cancel the second wave of the coupon privatization process, which was launched September 5 by the Moravcik government.

Earlier this month, his head economic advisor, Sergej Kozlik, told a gathering in east Slovakia that if the current government sells shares of large companies such as the Vychodoslovenske zelezarny steel works (VSZ) or the Benzinol petrol distributor, Meciar likely would re-nationalize them once he came to power.

"We would let the embassies of Western countries know that we could nationalize this property after the elections," Kozlik was quoted as saying. "We would return to the buyer the amount of hard currency he paid for the shares and would assume ownership, naturally, in a legal way."

Current Privatization Minister Milan Janicina in an interview last week questioned the notion of such compensation.

"With what?" he asked. "We don't have the funds."

Investors already on the ground are shrugging off these and other statements as just so much populist banter.

"I don't know how much of it is political rhetoric and how much is true," said Beverly Davis, executive director of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. "Our members are taking a wait-and-see attitude."

Christopher Asby, director of investment and banking services at the Bratislava office of the Deloitte & Touche accounting firm, is even less riled.

"I think Slovakia has unrealized potential," he said. "Of the Visegrad four, some of the best remaining opportunities exist in Slovakia. It's just a matter of time before people realize it's here. People have been scared off by the political situation, but it's a situation in transition, and the people I've done business with here have seen the value."

Privatization Minister Janicina, whose goal it was to make the process "irreversible," said he hopes it will all turn out for the best.

"I did the best I could under the circumstances, and we were able to get the process moving," he said. "One has to believe in common sense. I have to believe the next government will use common sense."

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Prime Minister Horn Discusses 1st 100 Days

LD2410221094 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 24 Oct 94

[Interview with Prime Minister Gyula Horn by Peter Gyuricza at the Hungarian National Assembly building in Budapest; from the "Extra" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Gyuricza] Mr. Prime Minister, thank you very much for the invitation. You did not ask for a period of grace for your government 100 days ago. What was your experience, have you been granted a period of grace, after all?

[Horn] Not really, I have to tell you. [passage omitted] Over the first three months we had to face many problems that we had not even thought of earlier. But this is what happens, since we were not aware of a lot of things, because we were in opposition. I must tell you honestly that wherever we step we sink in a morass almost everywhere, from the Army via social welfare institutions to almost everywhere. [passage omitted]

[Gyuricza] You laid wreaths together with Erzsebet Nagy on 16 June 1994. There was only one word on the ribbon of the wreath: Reconciliation. Yesterday, on 23 October, the country commemorated the heroes of '56 and the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic. You laid wreaths together with the president and the National Assembly speaker. Have we, in your view, become closer to reconciliation, so much wanted by you?

[Horn] By all means. By all means, because it shows the Hungarian nations' wisdom that the extreme right, or extremist groups, have not got through to parliament and people have rejected political trends or politicians who instigate hatred. Knowing the international environment, I am deeply convinced that only a country that develops in peaceful circumstances can expect support from developed countries. This is indispensable. Talking about reconciliation, I do not only mean relations within the country's borders, but relations with neighboring countries as well. [passage omitted]

It has often been an accusation—when we took urgent measures in a certain matter, be it the matter of the Hungarian Television, or other matters—that the government is making hasty decisions. We have not made hasty decisions, but we said that we have to take this step because these measures were the conditions for further development. [passage omitted]

On the other hand, it has also been said that we are incompetent, we are not taking enough steps. But, excuse me, we have to coordinate decisions not only among the ministries, but with the coalition partner, with social partners, with the opposition, and others as well. This is, unfortunately, a time consuming job. I have already said at a government session that we have to give deadlines at a certain point. [passage omitted] These endless coordinations should not limit our ability to act. [passage omitted]

[Gyuricza] I have two questions: What will the government do if the country wants the Expo? Will this be on the agenda of the government session on 27 October?

[Horn] It will probably be on the agenda of the government session on Thursday. [passage omitted] It is another question whether it can be a topic of a referendum. Since the government has decided—with regret, I must tell you—on the cancellation of the exhibition for financial, budgetary reasons. If a referendum is held on it without saying that.... [pauses] All right, the Expo can be held but the several tens of millions [currency not specified] that are necessary for it should also be provided by them.

[Gyuricza] What kind of consequences could a possible yes vote have?

[Horn] Look, the matter, perhaps, will again be submitted to parliament. I cannot predict it yet. [passage omitted]

[Gyuricza] [Passage omitted] How do you assess the functioning of this coalition?

[Horn] There have been disputes within the coalition, but this is natural. I would like to stress that there have been far less disputes within the government—I could even say that cooperation between ministers from the two parties is almost undisturbed and normal. However, there are disputes between our parties. They appear at the coalition coordination talks as well. [passage omitted]

[Gyuricza] What are your relations like with the president?

[Horn] Very good, very constructive. This has been like that not only during the past three months but earlier, during the past four years as well.

[Gyuricza] What are your relations like with your coalition deputy, Gabor Kuncze?

[Horn] Our relations are very good, I have positive experiences. We can reach an agreement within a short time. We do not make a big deal from matters that do not require it. I can only say good things about my cooperation with Gabor Kuncze.

[Gyuricza] Do you have contact, talks with the heads of the opposition parties?

[Horn] Yes. From Time to time, mostly at their request. We do have these kind of talks. [passage omitted]

[Gyuricza] Mr. Prime Minister, are you planning to reshuffle your government, or do you consider it necessary? Let me also add that Jozsef Torgyan asked you in parliament on 27 September to resign. Have you taken it as an opposition rhetoric or have you considered it?

[Horn] Number one: For the time being I am not planning changes. Naturally, if somebody does not meet expectations, or cannot fulfill his/her duty, I will act.

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The other point is about Mr. Torgyan's statement. He said that the government had acted unconstitutionally in the exhibition matter. This is simply not true, because we have told our foreign partners and the Paris Bureau of International Exhibitions that our decision on the cancellation of the exhibition will only be valid when the parliament approves it. [passage omitted]

[Gyuricza] At the end of our interview, let me ask a personal question. How are you feeling following your accident and after your summer vacation and treatment?

[Horn] Thank you for your questions. I am feeling better and better. A kind of rehabilitation after treatment is still under way, almost every day. I have to strengthen my neck. Otherwise I am fine. I have survived this accident.

[Gyuricza] Mr. Prime Minister, thank you very much for assessing the government's first 100 days in office in Extra.

Government To Relinquish Holdings in State Firms

LD2510093194 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 25 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Government plans not to maintain majority ownership in current state firms. This means that the state assets management will become unnecessary in the future.

Yesterday, Ferenc Bartha, government commissioner for privatization, confirmed at an Austrian-Hungarian ministerial conference in Vienna that the State Assets Agency, the State Assets Management Joint Stock Company, and the Treasury Assets Management will be replaced by one organization, the State Privatization Joint Stock Company.

According to plans, large energy industry firms will be the next to be privatized.

SZDSZ Chairman Assesses Coalition, Prospects

AU2410150694 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 18 Oct 94 pp 1,4

[Interview with SZDSZ Chairman Ivan Peto by Anna Danno; place and date not given: "A Politician Here Cannot Be Satisfied With the Government"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Danno] The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] is expected to suffer a serious defeat at the upcoming local government elections. Could this defeat affect the government activity?

[Peto] I do not deny that the SZDSZ will fail to achieve results, but I regard this as something inevitable, rather than a spectacular defeat. However, if the people vote for persons, rather than parties, most SZDSZ mayors will be able to keep their positions. We will be the second strongest party at the local government elections, and this cannot be called a failure.

[Danno] With the results of the local government elections, could the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] take the positions of the SZDSZ away, positions gained at the coalition talks and based on the actual percentage of votes?

[Peto] There is no connection whatsoever between the SZDSZ achievements in the local government elections and the activity of the coalition. I cannot envisage a situation in which a failure of the SZDSZ to achieve the expected results at the upcoming elections would affect the activity of the coalition government. This activity is determined by the coalition agreement and the government program, and one cannot deviate from this under any pretext of achievement. [passage omitted]

[Danno] The SZDSZ has clearly based its government strategy on placing itself behind the strong [Finance Minister] Laszlo Bekesi. However, Bekesi must constantly retreat from the trends prevailing in the MSZP. What will happen to the government plans of the SZDSZ?

[Peto] Many people think that there is some kind of a special alliance between the SZDSZ and Bekesi. The SZDSZ would not have joined the coalition if Bekesi had only been an ordinary member within the MSZP who happens to represent the economic policy which we regard as correct. We do not identify with persons in the MSZP; there is an economic policy, and there is generally a government program that we regard as correct and we endeavor to implement this program. If Bekesi retreats on certain issues, or it seems that he retreats, this is quite independent of the SZDSZ. However, we would not like a situation in which we stick to a consistent tough economic policy and then we are the only ones who represent this policy in the coalition. [passage omitted]

[Danno] According to a recent opinion poll, the people in the survey showed dissatisfaction with the government, and particularly with the SZDSZ. According to the survey, the opinions of the people who sympathize with the SZDSZ are considerably closer to the supporters of the opposition than to the supporters of the socialists. Do you think that the voters will turn away from you in view of such a government activity?

[Peto] Let us be precise. One of the questions in the aforementioned survey was the extent to which people have confidence in the government; the other question was the extent to which people are satisfied with the government. SZDSZ supporters are quite confident in the government, albeit not so much confident as the MSZP voters. The survey does not give the answer to the reasons behind this dissatisfaction: whether the government failed to do a lot of things that could have been done, or whether the things the government carried out did not match with the desire of the people. I agree with

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the person who criticizes the government on the basis of the first assumption; however, criticism based on the second assumption is not a big problem. [passage omitted]

SZDSZ Economist Views Government Policies

AU2410150894 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 19 Oct 94 p 10

[Interview with SZDSZ economist Tamas Bauer by Istvan Varga; place and date not given: "What Will Be Implemented From the Government Program?—Tamas Bauer on the Pressure Groups, the Lack of Balance, and When the SZDSZ Would Leave the Coalition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *From the economic policy debates of the past months, we can conclude that Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi's views do not prevail alone in the government's economic policy. Tamas Bauer, economist of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], believes. According to him, the current draft of the social pact would give more scope to the trade unions than justified. Bauer does not believe that exchange rate policy or privatization strategy should be brought before the Coordination Council [ET]. Why? We interviewed him on this issue, among others.*

[Varga] Why does the SZDSZ, as the smaller coalition partner, not take its share in the economic decisions?

[Bauer] The statement implied in the question is only partially true. The government's economic policy is based on the coalition agreement of the two parties, and the SZDSZ took full part in drawing this up. At the same time, due to the election results, the SZDSZ does not have the key economic ministries. We had to choose between the Interior and Finance Ministries, and it was natural for Laszlo Bekesi, who had drawn up the Hungarian Socialist Party's [MSZP] economic program, to be the finance minister. His views are very close to those of the Free Democrats anyway. For this reason, we considered it more important to have political state secretaries in the Industry and Agricultural Ministries than in the Finance Ministry.

Significant Results

[Varga] So you trusted Bekesi?

[Bauer] Yes, we did and, basically, this has been justified by the events so far. This does not mean that we have had fundamental disagreements with the industry or agricultural ministers. However, in these ministries, we should be more concerned about the influence of the pressure groups that are linked to the MSZP. The coalition's economic policy represented by Bekesi has the biggest fights with precisely these pressure groups again and again when making the most important economic policy decisions.

[Varga] How much influence can these groups have?

[Bauer] It is not easy to assess this, but they certainly have enough influence as they have already forced the government to make significant concessions. I am mainly talking about the full implementation of the short-term restrictive measures. Due to the upset economic balance, the government has to take consumption restricting measures. This requirement is clearly laid down in the coalition agreement. Therefore, it is not possible to conceivably improve living conditions after the change of the government, however, it is difficult to make the local social insurance administration boards and the social partners accept this. This was the issue during the debate on the pension, value added tax, and energy price increases.

Waiting for Laws

[Varga] According to the indications, the finance minister's views do not always enjoy priority. The energy price increase was postponed, but the pensions will be paid. What can be shown after this?

[Bauer] As a result of the concessions, the supplementary budget will dampen the balance deterioration to a lesser extent than was originally planned, therefore, we will start from a worse position in 1995. In addition, it has become doubtful for the public whether the finance minister should be taken seriously when he claims that there is no money for something. However, he is right and there is no money.

[Varga] According to many people, the aforementioned economic policy measures make the supplementary budget pointless....

[Bauer] I would not say that it is pointless, but it is now doubtful whether it was worth the big parliamentary debate. We do indeed have major balance problems, the history of the Hungarian economy has never seen as high a balance of payments deficit as last year, and that might be repeated this year.

However, there is also a bigger problem than the partial implementation of the short-term balance improvement measures. The preparation of the privatization law has been delayed for months. This is not only a delay, the point is that Socialist politicians, trade union leaders, and even certain governmental leaders formulate demands in connection with the privatization law that cannot be harmonized with the government program. Similarly, we do not know whether real preparations for the state administration reform have been started. If the May agreement of the coalition parties does not prevail in these issues, either, then it will become questionable what will actually be implemented from the government program.

Before and immediately after the elections, it seemed that Bekesi would be given a full mandate in economic policy in the MSZP. [Prime Minister] Gyula Horn then said that the MSZP has one economic program, namely that drawn up by Bekesi and approved by the MSZP's

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February congress. However, since then, we have not experienced this in the government decisions.

[Varga] No one has yet mentioned conflicts between the SZDSZ and Bekesi. Does this mean that you do not have differences of concept?

[Bauer] There is some difference in what the finance minister and what the Free Democrats emphasize. Through his position as finance minister, Bekesi's attention has to be focused on the balance problems. He can pay less attention to the fact that the economic policy also has to prepare the future. The privatization law, the reform of state administration, and the measures preparing a lasting growth should be given more attention. In the debate on the consistent implementation of the economic stabilization, the SZDSZ supports Bekesi as opposed to the leaders of other ministries and the ET partners. I would remind you that Bekesi was given full support at the SZDSZ's parliamentary group meeting.

[Varga] You mentioned the ET partners. Talks on the social pact have now been going on for months. What would the SZDSZ like to achieve at these talks?

[Bauer] The SZDSZ does not participate in these talks because the Labor, Welfare, and Finance Ministries are purely MSZP ministries, and the Free Democrats are not present on the employee or employer side, either. At the same time, in our view, the Labor Ministry entered into very broad spectrum talks with the social partners, contrary to the coalition agreement. Rather than limiting these topics to the area of wages, prices, taxes, pensions, and welfare benefits, which should be the focus of attention at such talks, they include area development, privatization, and exchange rate policy, all important areas of economic and social policy. This is not good because, this way, the government must get the social partners' approval for almost all its policies, for which the chances are much smaller than if they restricted themselves to the issues where agreement is indeed necessary.

Not Full Agreement

[Varga] What is the danger of issues belonging to Parliament's competence getting out of its reach?

[Bauer] Many modern societies know the notion of overall agreement with the social partners. However, this does not necessarily mean an extreme corporate model where agreement always has to be achieved with the strong trade unions.

[Varga] At what point would you feel that you can no longer agree with the government's economic policy?

[Bauer] Stabilization, privatization, export orientation, and the reform of state administration are the key points of the government coalition's agreed economic policy. If strategic retreat was made in these areas compared to the government program then the point in the coalition would become questionable for us. However, I do not think that this would seriously be raised because, in May, we allied with the Socialists to implement the government program.

Motives for Ransacking of Opposition Paper Sought

95P20065A

[FBIS Media Note] Four men pushed their way into the editorial office of the opposition publication UJ DEMOKRATA during business hours and ransacked it, causing damage that the publication estimated at 1 million forints ($10,000), reported the daily MAGYAR NEMZET on 22 September. According to the report, as the men swept electronic equipment to the ground, they angrily denounced Laszlo Acs, a financial backer of the publication. Although Andras Bencsik, UJ DEMOKRATA'S editor, did not accuse "any political party" of the attack, he did suggest, according to MAGYAR NEMZET, that it was politically motivated, saying that a few days earlier Acs had received threats from an unnamed source because of his support for UJ DEMOKRATA. Moreover, said the article, Bencsik charged that he himself "has regularly gotten threatening phone calls since the election." The police, however, "cannot decide" if political or "economic" grudges are behind the incident, MAGYAR NEMZET reported. UJ DEMOKRATA has a center-right orientation and is one of the few domestic publications that is highly critical of the present ruling coalition, which is led by the Hungarian Socialist Party. Bencsik started UJ DEMOKRATA this summer soon after the demise of the prominent daily PESTI HIRLAP, which, under his editorial leadership, had been a strong supporter of the center-right government that was voted out of office in May.

Despite the highly political profile of UJ DEMOKRATA, the liberal weekly BESZELO—like the police—has questioned whether the motivation behind the attack on the publication was necessarily political. The weekly, closely associated with the Alliance of Free Democrats—the junior partner in the ruling coalition—condemned the incident in an anonymous commentary but indicated that there may be reason to doubt Bencsik's interpretation of it. The commentary stressed BESZELO's commitment to defending any publication under attack, even a political adversary like UJ DEMOKRATA, but suggested that the ransacking of UJ DEMOKRATA's office could have been directed not at the publication but at its supporter, Acs, who may have financial enemies. Opinions about Acs's financial situation are "contradictory," according to BESZELO, with some reports saying that the company he heads is "solid" and has no serious debts, and others saying that the company "owes money in many quarters" and "is not creditworthy." Casting further doubt on Bencsik's interpretation of the incident, the commentary reported that the police estimated the damage at only one-fifth of Bencsik's estimate. BESZELO also hinted that it was in

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UJ DEMOKRATA'S interest to inflate the incident, noting that the attack resulted in a "free advertisement" for the publication on the evening television news.

Charge: MSZP Leads 'Quiet Counterrevolution'

94CH0424A Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 9 Sep 94 p 3

[Article by Zoltan Speidl from the "Parliamentary Corridor" column]

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview on the latest broadcast of the television program *Vasarnapi Ujsag*, Ivan Peto expressed his satisfaction that Prime Minister Gyula Horn changed his mind about a capital levy and modified his earlier statement, which had raised a storm even within the coalition.

Presumably the interview with the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] chairman had been taped before the prime minister delivered his Miners' Day speech in Tatabanya. In it Horn reiterated that there would indeed be a capital levy. And he used a phrase from which it could be inferred that the levy would be imposed only on fortunes made in recent years.

His statement is somewhat puzzling, because it is not clear what is meant by recent years. But knowing the prime minister's views, his hindsight and foresight, we may be almost certain that he meant the past 4.5 years. Perhaps Viktor Orban was right when he said that "misters" would be taxed, but not the comrades.

To interpret Viktor Orban's statement, readers have to be reminded that a substantial proportion—indeed, most—of today's fortunes were made from spontaneous privatization under the party-state; and that the beneficiaries of such privatization have been the members of the party (and KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League]) leadership at the time, and also the players of various kind and rank in the economy's management. From my small town alone, I know of a dozen cases, and they all bear this out.

Regardless of what anyone may say, Horn's by now reiterated statement (henceforth it can no longer be dismissed as a slip of the tongue) also supports those who are saying that a restoration is in the making here, and the outlines of socialist revenge are taking shape.

I could say also that a quiet counterrevolution is unfolding.

A Kadarian counterrevolution, which—as we very well know—lasted from the suppression of the 1956 revolution until the early 1960's. I hasten to add that, naturally, I do not have in mind (and hope I have no reason to expect anew) prosecutions with gallows and long prison sentences. What I am thinking of is that a dictatorship might develop by political means; a situation in politics, the economy and public administration, such that the power of the old-new elite, its rule without any real counterbalance, will be secured for many years and perhaps decades.

And that requires a power base. Today the elite salvaged from Kadarism wants to line up behind itself some of the very same supporters on whom Janos Kadar had relied: the so-called working class (if one still exists), particularly its hard core. The miners, for instance, who find themselves in an unquestionably difficult situation through no fault of their own, as a result of economic necessity.

My depression must have been influencing my thinking when it occurred to me that we might live to see what Bucharest has already gone through—namely, miners overrunning the capital, only this time they would not be coming from the Zsil [Jiu] Valley. That, too, could happen at the very worst. It would require nothing more than to persuade miners, and also the representatives of other occupations undergoing a crisis, that the cause of all the trouble is "conversion to capitalism" during the life of the previous Parliament, the adoption of middle-class values and manners, competition, the acquisition of wealth, the "second accumulation of capital" (as defined by Laszlo Tokeczki, cf. MAGYAR NEMZET, 3 Sep 94) that "the futility of rule by comrades has made and is making necessary" and which the Socialist Party wants to manage.

There are indeed signs indicating that a second accumulation of capital—a socialist accumulation of capital, we might say—is truly taking place at present, and that only unfounded promises can make the public forget the contradiction between harsh (socialist) capitalist facts and the people-friendly principles the socialists are advocating unscrupulously even today. (The SZDSZ assumed a significant role in creating this contradiction.) They [the socialists] will find the "people's" enemies whom it will be possible to blame as the cause of all the trouble. Observing Gyula Horn, I fear that the future tense is unnecessary, because all this is happening now, in the present. They have already found the enemy. Only a bit more time is needed to outline the enemy's image.

In the issue of MAGYAR NEMZET cited above, Jozsef Debreczeni writes as follows: "It has begun. They are doing exactly what we expected, and exactly the way we expected. Or rather, they are doing it much faster and with much less inhibition. Possessing a two-thirds majority, the MSZP-SZDSZ coalition has begun to transform the Hungarian Republic's political system. Not in the spirit of some comprehensive and long-range concept of the Constitution, but guided by specific and short-term considerations of power. They tinker with whatever they please and with what happens to be timely."

This is what it is all about.

I say that a parliamentary revolution is brewing. A "democratic" restoration is unfolding. And although we

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know that a revolution usually is followed by a counter-revolution, after which comes another revolution, I am afraid that if we were to fail in ordering the counterrevolution to halt, a revolution would be a long time in coming. At least a revolution like the one we had in 1989-1990.

And even if there is a revolution, one or two generations might alternate until then. The only question is: For what do we still have time? Because meanwhile the happier part of the world is persisting in its progress.

Organization Strives To Revitalize Center Right

94CH0424B Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 9 Sep 94 p 6

[Article by Z.S.: "Where Is the Center Right Heading?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Perhaps the establishment in 1993 of a nonprofit organization, the Windsor Club, went unnoticed by many. Its founders were Ivan Baba, Kalman Mizsei, Zsolt Nemeth, and Professor Csaba Varga. The club's director is Jonathan Sunley.

The goal the Windsor Club set for itself is nothing less than to strengthen politics in Hungary, founded on the principles of limited government, free enterprise, and responsible national commitment. To that end, the club organizes conferences and seminars, and publishes books, brochures, and informative publications.

The club cooperates closely with its sister organizations in Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. These organizations jointly constitute the Windsor Group that coordinates activity in the region. As a private foundation, the Windsor Group has close ties with the Heritage Foundation (Washington) and the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies (London).

Proceeding from the proposition that the decisive election victory of the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party], and the creation of the social-liberal coalition raise fundamental questions about the future of liberal-conservative thinking in Hungary, on 18 July 1994 the Windsor Club held a conference entitled "Where Is the Center Right Heading?" The invited prominent speakers (Jozsef Debreczeni, Istvan Elek, Laszlo Kover, Ferenc Kulin, Laszlo Surjan and Peter Tolgyessy) and the contributors to the debate (Janos Gurgyak, Gusztav Molnar, Bela Pomogats, Istvan Schlett, Istvan Stumpf, Gyula Teller and Laszlo Tokeczi, among others) examined two main questions: What was the cause of the liberal-conservative forces' election defeat, and what are the prospects of a liberal-conservative alternative?

In view of the topic's importance, MAGYARORSZAG is publishing—in abridged form, but striving to completeness—the most important parts of the conference's proceedings, namely Andras Korosenyi's introductory analysis that opened the debate, and the main points of the views expressed by the contributors to the debate.

To anyone who peruses the list of names and reads the texts we have been publishing consecutively in recent weeks, it will be quite clear that the thinking on this occasion has not been confined to within party straightjackets. "Victors" as well as "losers" demonstrated that, independently of party colors, there exists an integrating ideology on which the country's future can be built, and which may offer good solutions under a real system of political rotation.

MAGYARORSZAG is undertaking to publish the proceedings of the Windsor Club's conference in the hope that this will stimulate the thinking of many people, and that the readers' written opinions will also contribute toward presenting a liberal-conservative (or if you prefer, a center-right) alternative to the social-liberal government now in power. We firmly believe that such an alternative may be a modern Hungary's foundation.

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Kolodziejczyk To Resign 'Irrespective' of Findings

LD2510133194 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 25 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk will resign irrespective of the findings of the subcommission investigating the conflict in the National Defense Ministry [MON], Leszek Bugaj, a member of the commission, told journalists today.

The atmosphere during the dinner in Drawsko was really nervous, but none of its participants confirmed that there had been a vote of no-confidence in Minister Kolodziejczyk.

Politicians on Election, Likely Candidates

WS2410151594 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Oct 94 p 2

[Article by Malgorzata Subotic: "President: In Line With Timetable"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The date of the presidential elections—that is, next November—will probably not change. Lech Walesa will not reach for any unconstitutional solutions. The first party-designated (and thus serious) candidates for president will be officially fielded early next year, and the list of the major contenders should be completed late this winter or in early spring. These are forecasts presented by the politicians with whom we have spoken.

Even though the presidential election will be held in a year's time, developments in our politics are increasingly beginning to clearly reflect the election campaign. "The shadow of the presidential election is becoming ever more visible"—that is the opinion that is today unanimously expressed by both politicians and observers. The declaration, which Lech Walesa made several months ago, that he would again run for president, gave rise to presidential speculations more than a year before the election.

"It is a false start to submit candidates for president as early as today; this false start is, in addition, detrimental to the interests of the state," says Jerzy Szmajdzinski of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], who adds that now is the time for discussions on the budget, taxes, and new constitution. "Haste is not the most important thing; something else is really important: We must take advantage of all the possibilities to submit a candidate of a political configuration that is broader than just one party," says Jaroslaw Kaczynski. The Center Accord [PC] president certainly means a candidate of the post-Solidarity camp (the right wing and the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "Solidarity"—"S"), and he evaluates the chances of such a candidate as "close to victory." Also Ryszard Bugaj, of the Union of Labor [UP], cautions against excessive haste because then one may lose what is the most important thing in the competition—the removal of a party stigma.

"Apart from Lech Walesa, who, incidentally, has said that he may or may not run, no other serious candidate has yet been fielded. Thus, a discussion on the alleged false start is out of place," says Donald Tusk of the Freedom Union [UW]. "For the time being, a range of candidates is being spontaneously installed, and it is only to a limited degree being controlled by political parties. The mass media are simply listing the people who are expected to run in the election."

Indeed, the "types" that are mentioned most often in the press candidate market are: Kwasniewski—the leader of the greatest grouping [SLD]; Pawlak—the prime minister; Walesa—the president; Kuron—the most popular politician; and Suchocka—former prime minister. However, no grouping has made a final decision yet. According to Tusk, the first party-made nomination will start a landslide; candidates of other groups will appear right away. Until that moment occurs, speculations within parties will continue: Will Kwasniewski run? Maybe Kuron will be backed by the SLD? Whom will the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] field? The real question is, who will be first?

The sequence of fielding candidates will be largely determined by the dates of parties' congresses. As for the larger groupings, UP will have its congress the soonest—in January. The PSL is to hold its congress in late February. This is when, in line with the party's Chief Council, the peasants' candidate will finally be fielded. The UW council is to anoint its candidate at its congress scheduled for April. Even within UW, however, there are doubts whether the party's politicians will hold out that long. Supporters of Jacek Kuron are in favor of a quicker solution—possibly at the beginning of next year.

According to Jerzy Szmajdzinski, the SLD will announce the name of its candidate as late as possible—that is, late in April or in early May—"because we must choose an option that would be best in a given situation." However, the SLD deputy adds that, "if need be, we might present our official candidate on the very same day." Meanwhile, representatives of other groups reveal that SLD leader Aleksander Kwasniewski has announced that the party's candidate will be known before Christmas. According to Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the post-Solidarity camp cannot delay its decision beyond spring. The PC president, even though to an increasingly lesser degree, is hoping that the rightist parties will be able to agree on a common candidacy with "S" (he no longer takes into account any agreement with UW). He believes that the first round would then be decisive. His political rivals brutally speculate that the "extraparliamentary opposition will never field its own candidate."

Even though they can see the obvious advantage of fielding an extraparty candidate, politicians are skeptical about chances for such a scenario. The so-called broad candidate can be fielded by the right side of the political scene (plus perhaps "S"), or he can be fielded through an agreement with UW. Even the interested people are

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beginning to doubt the first possibility. Kaczynski fears that party interests will prevail. In line with these interests, "anyone can be a candidate, provided he is ours." Such behavior is "helped" by the incumbent president.

Ryszard Bugaj says that it would be interesting to consider the second possibility—an agreement between the SLD and UW—from the following perspective: Will there be an attempt to transfer the presidential alliances to the government? Possible agreements concerning, for example, the candidacy of Jacek Kuron, would mean that the Pawlak government would fall and would be replaced by the SLD-UW coalition, perhaps with UP. This would be repeating the history—"Your president, our prime minister." This time it would be proposed by the SLD.

However, also Bugaj, who is a supporter of the last scenario, predicts that party interests will dominate the presidential campaign. As a result, "the political scene will become more rigid because everyone will persist with his candidate." The thing is that it may take quite a while to use up all of the possibilities of reaching an agreement, and opposing trends will clash in the process of selecting candidates. The first trend: If there are disputes, one must try to delay the decision. The second trend: Possible candidates and first of all their supporters may try to delay things.

The party-oriented option of the presidential election increases the chances for Lech Walesa. However, the low rating he obtains in opinion polls should not be a source of optimism for him. Politicians deny the option of delaying the presidential election and, for example, dissolving parliament. Szmajdzinski says that "he knows the situation in the Armed Forces," and, thus, according to him, the unconstitutional option is out of the question. [passage omitted]

Comment on Walesa, Pawlak Conflicts Over Visits

WS2410124394 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 24 Oct 94 p 2

[Commentary by PS: "International War in High Places"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The president's favorite arena of conflicts with the prime minister has become the foreign visits of the latter. During Pawlak's visit to Moscow in March, Walesa attacked him in public for the first time. The president complained that he had not been consulted about the visit. Even though he did not say so explicitly, what aggravated the president most was the fact that, while organizing the visit, the prime minister had not used the services of the "presidential" Foreign Affairs Ministry, but those of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, headed by his party colleague.

The next confrontation occurred when the prime minister left to take part in the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Monte Cassino battle, held last May. When it was already known that Pawlak would take part in the ceremonies and that he was going to take advantage of his visit to Italy to meet with leading Italian politicians and factory owners, Walesa also decided to attend. As a result, Italian politicians had an opportunity to go through an experience that is rather unique in international customs—they received the president and then, after a few hours, the prime minister of the same state.

Walesa also used another occasion to stigmatize Pawlak: the resounding scandal concerning the fact that the prime minister took his family and a substantial entourage aboard the governmental plane bound for Italy, whereas many war veterans were not able to get to Monte Cassino. Pawlak's aides accused the president of causing the scandal. They even went so far as to suggest that it was he who was in charge of the press campaign for stigmatizing the activities of the government head.

Several weeks ago, it turned out that the president also intended to accept the invitation to participate in the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Congress of the American Polonia, even though it had been known for several months that Pawlak would visit America.

Bishops Demand Clauses Be Put in Constitution

LD2410130494 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1204 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 24 Oct—Today Polish bishops issued a letter from the Polish Episcopate concerning the new constitution to all of the faithful of the Catholic Church and all people of goodwill.

They demand a clause to be included in the new constitution on the protection of human life "from the moment of conception until natural death." They also want a clause to be included on relations between the Catholic Church and the state, treating them both as "independent and autonomous communities, which should be regulated on the basis of the Concordat with the Holy See, which is an entity of international law." [passage omitted]

The bishops also stress that the new constitution should take into account moral principles that are indispensable to building the foundation of the state.

The letter was published after the 272d plenary conference of the Polish Episcopate, which deliberated at Niepokalanow near Warsaw between 21 and 23 October. The new constitution was the main topic discussed there.

Ukraine Official Denies Threats to Poles

LD2410204994 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1839 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 14 Oct—In the view of Teodoziy Starak, charge d'affaires of the Ukrainian Embassy to Poland, there is no question of a threat to Polish citizens staying in Ukraine. There are a number of

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Poles in prison and on remand in Ukraine, but they are not being sentenced more severely than the citizens of other states, including Ukraine. According to Starak, the reports in the Polish mass media are inaccurate, and it is also not possible to speak of any kind of link between behavior toward Poles and the case of Anatoliy Lysenko.

"I do not see any reason to be able to say that there is a danger to Poles or other foreigners in Ukraine. Currently, there are five cases in progress in Ukraine in which Polish citizens are involved. A further few Poles are in prison. These cases have been dragging on for some time now, and press reports and various kinds of statements that they might have a bearing on Polish-Ukrainian relations are a little strange," Starak told PAP today.

"Reports are also appearing in the mass media on an anti-Polish atmosphere and demonstrations—for instance, in Lviv. This is a straightforward untruth. Where these reports come from, I do not know. I have the impression that somebody wants Polish-Ukrainian conflict," he added. He stated that last year no conflict with the participation of Poles was noted in the border districts of Ukraine.

The complaints declared by the Polish side above all relate to the activities of our investigative bodies and detention on remand (for instance, because of the nonappearance of witnesses). I am happy that a Polish delegation will be going to Ukraine and that all of these matters will finally be clarified, said Starak. He did not preclude that a similar delegation will come to Poland from Ukraine. (The Polish delegation was to have gone to Ukraine on Sunday. According to unofficial reports, the trip has been deferred until Wednesday at the request of the Ukrainian side).

The Polish delegation is to clarify, among other things, the case of the death of Mikolaj Szpakowicz, who was beaten by Ukrainian militiamen. "This is a very unfortunate matter for us. They ought to be arrested, and they will be punished," Starak said. He stated that because the Pole did not commit any crime, the Polish diplomatic service was not, only his wife [sentence as received].

Starak said that there is no official news on the subject of Marek Gorczyca, one of those accused in the "red mercury" case, who died on Monday night in the hospital of the military prison in Kiev. Asked about the case of the detention since last November of two Poles on remand in Lyuboml (Lutsk oblast), accused of an attempt to smuggle gold to Poland, Starak responded that these are matters for the investigative authorities and the arm of justice and that the accused have not demonstrated their innocence.

When asked about the case in which a Pole had been sentenced for 13 years in a labor camp for driving into a group of Ukrainian soldiers in February and killing three of them, Starak said that this was not the maximum sentence, which for this offense is 15 years. "The court does not attach any significance to the fact that the soldiers were drunk," he added, accusing the Polish press of unfair reporting. Press reports said that the soldiers were celebrating the border guards' day, and this day is actually in August. When asked why a Pole had been sentenced to a labor camp, Starak said that the problem lay in the shortcomings of the Ukrainian legislation, inherited from the USSR.

Attempts to link the case of Anatoliy Lysenko to any of these cases are completely unfounded, Starak stressed. "We were keeping this matter secret; the embassy, the security services, and the Ukrainian authorities did what they could to keep the matter from turning into a conflict, which could have had a negative effect on Polish-Ukrainian relations. We did everything we could to avoid, at that time, any arrests of Polish citizens who committed offenses," he said. "It is not right that Polish newspapers linked the Lysenko case to the red mercury case." The Poles accused in this case were arrested several months earlier, and the trial was adjourned on purpose.

There are almost 1,000 Ukrainian citizens in Polish prisons. Investigations are in progress in 100 cases. "We have no grievances against the Polish authorities. We believe that, in a democratic country, where the courts are independent, justice prevails, although we are getting very many letters from Ukrainians imprisoned in Poland, in which they complain of bad treatment and procedural infringements," he said. "We know that our citizen has committed an offense and we have confidence in Polish justice. We do not want criminal offenses to influence the relations between our states," he said.

He added that the Ukrainian side "could have a cause for complaint against the Polish authorities. For example, the embassy is receiving complaints that the Polish police choose not to notice cases of assault on Ukrainian citizens in Poland and do not intervene even when asked for help."

"Every country is guided by its own law. Poles are not treated severely. Our citizens are treated more severely," Starak said. He added that Poles do not commit many offenses in Ukraine. Citizens of the former USSR, primarily from the Asian republics, constitute a more serious problem.

New Press Law To Be Completed by End of Year

LD2410221994 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2000 GMT 24 Oct 94

[From the "Panorama" newscast—relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish]

[FBIS Translated Text] The new press law is to guarantee the safety of journalists and protect state secrets. Today representatives of the most important Polish media, who

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are working on amendments to the current law, met Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, deputy prime minister and minister of justice.

[Correspondent Slawomir Matczak] During the meeting, both the politicians and the journalists were in agreement that the new press law should define the principles of journalists' responsibility and the limits of political pressure that may be exerted.

[Begin Cimoszewicz recording] The law should create an equilibrium between the rights of journalists and free press on one side, and those of citizens to receive credible information, on the other. How do you reconcile all these things? This is the very issue: These details are the most important thing. [end recording]

[Matczak] The press law, as it currently stands, is a document that was adopted in 1984 and amended four years ago. For example, it does not take advertising into account at all.

[Begin Ernest Skalski, editor in chief of GAZETA WYBORCZA, recording] The press law is in reality a law for publishers and newspaper owners. Freedom of speech means that everyone can say what he wants; freedom of the press means that anyone can publish a newspaper he want to publish. [end recording]

[Matczak] According to researchers, the accusations about manipulation of the press and libel suits arise from the lack of knowledge of the law.

[Begin Wieslaw Walendziak, chairman of the Polish Television Joint-Stock Company, recording] If a journalist has abused the truth or transgressed the truth, he should be made accountable for it. The same goes for the publisher and broadcaster. However, if a journalist has written or spoken the truth, there should be some consequence of this. Something should happen in the country. An important report, once published, should not be ignored. Also, journalists should not be penalized for telling the truth. [end recording]

[Matczak] The final press law document should be completed by the end of this year.

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Iliescu Promotes 12 Generals on Armed Forces Day

AU2410134694 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] On the grounds of Article 94, Letter B and Article 99, Paragraph 1 of Romania's Constitution, Romanian President Ion Iliescu signed a decree promoting 12 generals of the Romanian Armed Forces, while 10 colonels were promoted to the rank of major colonel. The promotions took place on occasion of Romanian Armed Forces Day, having in view proposals made previously by the minister of national defense.

Thus, [military presidential counselor] Colonel General Vasile Ionel and [4th Transylvanian Army Commander] Colonel General Paul Cheler have been promoted to the rank of army general; the head of the Armed Forces General Staff, Lieutenant General Ion Dumitru Cioflina to the rank of colonel general; and nine major generals were promoted to the rank of lieutenant general.

The promotion ceremony took place in Union Hall at Cotroceni Palace. In his speech, President Ion Iliescu congratulated the attending officers on their promotion also expressing, in the opinion of the head of state, an appreciation for the Armed Forces on such a special day, namely the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Romanian territory from foreign occupation.

In turn, Colonel General Ion Dumitru Cioflina expressed thanks in the name of those attending the ceremony and reassured the head of the state that in the transformation process the country is currently passing through the Armed Forces are committed to fulfilling all its objectives.

The ceremony was also attended by the minister of national defense, Mr. Gheorghe Tinca, as well as Mr. Ioan Mircea Pascu, state secretary of the aforementioned ministry, reports our correspondent Sorin Croitorescu.

CDR Leader Views Current Domestic Situation

AU2410122094 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15-16 Oct 94 p 3

[Interview with Emil Constantinescu, president of the Democratic Convention of Romania, by Simona Popescu; place and date not given: "The Latest Developments in the CDR Create a More Solid Basis for the Alliance"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Popescu] What is your opinion about the way in which ex-King Mihai was expelled from Romania?

[Constantinescu] I expressed my viewpoint on this issue in Slatina when the king was expelled. The presence of King Mihai at a symposium devoted to the significance of 23 August 1944 events was not only justified, but also necessary. We are talking here about the main figure of an act that deeply influenced Romania's destiny and history, even on a European level. On the other hand, I believe that no politician, analyst, or simple citizen can seriously believe that this visit could have changed the constitutional order in the Romania of 1994. The refusal of the authorities to allow King Mihai entry to Romania reveals that an inferiority complex and even an illegitimacy complex still persist.

[Popescu] Are there any misunderstandings or differences between the PL '93 [Liberal Party '93] and the PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party] regarding King Mihai's visit to Romania?

[Constantinescu] No, there are no misunderstandings whatsoever on this issue. This visit was initiated and organized by the foundations of certain parties in the CDR [Democratic Convention of Romania] that were joined by other foundations of a civic nature currently functioning in Romania. The Democratic Convention was not involved in this visit, because, from the very beginning, it was not regarded as a political action. At the same time, the political parties, apart from the coincidence that certain party leaders are the representatives of some foundations, were not involved either. This was also the clear position adopted by the PNTCD. My participation in the electoral meeting in Slatina, aimed at granting support to the candidacy of Democratic Convention representative, who is at the same time a PNTCD member, was scheduled and announced two weeks before in the whole of Slatina County, and its postponement was not possible because the elections are going to take place this coming Sunday [16 October].

The CDR Candidate in Slatina Elections Has Real Chances

[Popescu] What do you think has changed since 1990 and up to now? You were on an electoral campaign in Slatina and, thus, you felt the pulse of social-political life outside Bucharest. What are the signals that you perceived? Do you believe that the CDR candidate will win?

[Constantinescu] There is nothing new in this trip to Slatina for me. I spend almost every weekend in a different town in the provinces, in direct contact with citizens. I was in Slatina for the first time, and my presence in that locality was connected with the idea that it is more necessary to be present there, where we did not win the previous local or general elections, than in the areas where we have a large number of sympathizers. Slatina, just like Braila, has been considered a "red town." In addition, Slatina—rightfully or, I rather believe unjustifiably—is viewed as a real symbol of the Ceausescu regime. However, I was impressed by the presence of many peasants who came from neighboring villages to the hall where the discussions with citizens was taking place. I regret that, this time, the unfavorable weather conditions stopped me from crossing the town on foot in order to talk directly with the residents. I believe that there are real chances for the CDR candidate, who is a young man, an economist, a decent and correct man, driven by the sincere wish to serve citizens and not to be served by them or to make use of the function of mayor.

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The Feeling of Fear Has Been Replaced by the Feeling of the Action's Uselessness

[Popescu] What do you think really happened in Braila, where recently a PSM [Socialist Party of Labor] candidate won the elections, although through the absence of most of the citizens from ballots?

[Constantinescu] The results of elections for the position of Braila mayor will have to be examined most seriously. However, there are discrepancies between the completely insignificant result that the PSM has obtained nationwide—where it is incapable of making use of its populist and demagogic doctrine—and the situation at the level of a town, where the collective mentalities of a part of the population, marked by nostalgia for certain social advantages they had during the communist dictatorship, combined with the lack of ability to understand facts, lead to the fear from the future. The chaos and confusion that have reached the level of state policy in the past four years, have created distrust in the instruments of democracy and in the capacity of economic revival and that is the reason for people turning to a certain type of authoritarianism, of command, and vulgar populism. However, the most serious and dangerous phenomenon is the absence of young people and of a part of the active strata of the population from the ballots. In the past four years, one can notice that the loss of the feeling of fear, especially in case of young people, was replaced by the feeling of uselessness of action, a cry in the wilderness.

There Is No Declarative Unity, But Rather a Unity of Action Within the CDR

[Popescu] I would like to ask you to assess the new developments within the CDR. I am referring to the cancellation of the act of suspending the PSDR [Social-Democratic Party of Romania] and the dialogue between the Civic Alliance and the Party of Civic Alliance [PAC].

[Constantinescu] The latest developments in the CDR will create a more solid basis for its transformation into a political force that is an alternative to the one currently in power. Now, I believe that we can talk not about a declarative and circumstantial unity, but about a unity of action. In fact, the initiation of the action to suspend the PSDR started precisely from the need for more coherent actions, both at the level of central structures as well as the local level. The substance of the two PSDR letters was precisely the negation of the need for certain structures at a central level, which should be replaced by a single secretariat of information, and the negation of the need for some structures at county level or even the conclusion of an electoral protocol. The PSDR's act of giving up this position, as a result of concerted actions of the parties in the CDR, made the act of suspending the PSDR unnecessary. This conclusion would not have had the same gravity that it has now, had the PAC not modified its position meantime, also after a sincere discussion with the representatives of the Civic Alliance, but mainly within the party itself. At the Executive Committee meeting, the PAC representatives were those who suggested that certain departments in charge of coordinating parliamentary activity and coordinating the actions of the public administration at local level should be established and strengthened. In the same framework, one should also include the moratorium that was agreed upon, aimed at avoiding contradictory discussions, before the respective issues are discussed in the plenary meeting of the CDR leading bodies. There have never been, there are not, and there will never be greatly different opinions and viewpoints on economic, social, and political aspects in the CDR. They will continue to be presented in the press with the same openness. The moratorium was conceived with a view to establishing a method of mutual direct information, not through the press, whose representatives often present only part of certain positions or misinterpret them. This is an attempt to diminish misunderstandings through direct discussions.

Romania Is a Badly Managed Country

[Popescu] There was much talk about the CDR's organization in the provinces. What is the current situation in this respect?

[Constantinescu] I view the organization in the provinces as a democratic structure. In the addendum unanimously adopted in August 1994, the principles of assigning the leadership for these structures were established, in accordance with the principle of consensus or rotation. We are currently studying the issue, on the basis of the provisions included in the statutes of the member parties and formations, regarding the number of organizations or members that can make up a county branch. In the future, we wish to avoid confusion between initial nuclei and the organizations proper, and the parties should be really stimulated to strengthen their bases in provinces. All this because, unfortunately, all the press campaigns and even disputes that I witnessed so far, were aimed at parallel actions of the leaders and the press, apparently leaving aside what should be the subject of our action in the first place, namely contact with citizens. An opposition that represents citizens vis-a-vis those in power must mainly draw its force from this contact and must be capable of always extracting from the civilian society not only the ideas that it should defend in order to accomplish a program of changes, adapted continuously to reality, but also people capable of implementing this program. I believe that the next two years will have to be decisive for shaping a new generation of managers at all levels and primarily at local level. If I were asked to define the current Romania in one single sentence, I would say: It is a badly managed country...

PNTCD's Coposu Predicts Street Demonstrations

AU2410204994 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 21 Oct 94 p 4

[Report by Andra Manta: "Corneliu Coposu Predicts Violent Street Manifestations"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview granted to BBC radio last night, Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD], predicted "violent street demonstrations of the population caused by the continuously growing overall poverty, for whose attenuation the government is unable to do anything, not even to come forward with a short-term program."

The PNTCD leader also estimated that next spring, or next summer at the latest, the Nicolae Vacaroiu government will have to accept the solution of early elections.

We remind our readers that for the past four months Corneliu Coposu has been undergoing treatment at the Wiekenberg Clinic in Germany. According to the latest statements by PNTCD leaders, he will return home at the end of this month.

Ethnic Hungarian Political Party Splits

LD2410130694 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] A new Hungarian party will be formed in Romania, but, according to our correspondent Tibor Bogdan, in the spirit of Hungarian-Hungarian conflicts.

[Bogdan] The Hungarian social democrats in Romania want to form a political organization, called the Hungarian Social Democratic Party in Transylvania, because the Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania [HDUR] will not accept them as an internal faction, Odon Bitai, deputy chairman of the grouping called Social Democratic New Left, told Hungarian radio. Thus it is a forced step, made necessary by the fact that the membership now seriously demands that the social democrats openly enter the political stage.

Among the founding members of the faction and the would-be party there are mostly well-known Hungarian intellectuals from Transylvania, including Edgar Balog, Odon Vitai said.

The goal of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party in Transylvania will be to represent the interests of manual workers who represent nearly 90 percent of the Hungarians in Romania, because the HDUR can no longer perform this function.

Head of New Democratic TU Confederation Elected

AU2410090394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] During the proceedings of the founding congress of the Confederation of Democratic Trade Unions of Romania [CSDR], which concluded yesterday in Bucharest, Mr. Victor Ciorbea was elected president of that new trade union organization.

In a statement for our reporters Mr. Ciorbea pointed out that in the transition period it is normal that the new confederation should situate itself in opposition vis-a-vis the employers, the state, and the government, because, quote, there should exist a genuinely democratic trade union organization representing a real alternative to the trade unions subordinated to the rulers. It is only natural that we should cooperate with the opposition, with the political parties belonging to the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], and with other non-party organizations within the CDR, precisely in order to achieve our unionist goals, unquote, Ciorbea emphasized.

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UN: Government Forces Fire on French Troops

AU2410174394 Paris AFP in English 1719 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 24 (AFP)—Bosnian Government troops Monday [24 October] opened fire on French UN troops tasked with monitoring their withdrawal from a demilitarized zone on Mount Igman, an UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] spokesman said here.

Bosnian soldiers in the Krupac area opened fire on a monitoring team with rocket-propelled grenades, small arms and machine gun fire, the spokesman said. The French returned fire with heavy machine guns. The Bosnians fired above the UN soldiers' heads and there were no casualties on the French side, another UN spokesman said.

Bosnian soldiers had started to withdraw from an area further to the west, but had stayed put in the Krupac area where their local commander has pledged not to be moved.

A UN spokesman said earlier that UNPROFOR was to start deploying troops along the strategic Igman road, southwest of Sarajevo. The deployment follows the beginning of the withdrawal of Bosnian government forces from the Igman demilitarized zone (DMZ). The UN is "beginning to implement the deployment of troops on the Igman route," UN spokesman Thant Myint-U said, giving no further details.

But a local UN commander said the UN had been given no orders to deploy along the most dangerous part of the road, where Bosnian convoys have to run a gauntlet of Serb gunners firing heavy machine guns. The UN troops might deploy further up the road, he indicated.

The Bosnian Government had reluctantly agreed to withdraw its soldiers from the DMZ following pressure from the UN and threats from the Bosnian Serbs.

Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic has insisted the withdrawal would not be completed until the UN provides guarantees on the safety of the road, the only government-controlled link between Sarajevo and the outside world.

The UN is unwilling to give any guarantees that it will protect what, in the final analysis, is a logistical route for the Bosnian Army. Myint-U said Bosnian soldiers had started to withdraw from the DMZ on Monday. Between 90 and 120 Bosnian troops had started to assemble at Vjenac in preparation for a pull-out Monday morning and had destroyed shelters they were leaving, the spokesman said.

But there was no such movement in the eastern Krupac sector where a local Bosnian commander had pledged to stay put.

UN Sarajevo sector spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Bernard Labarsouque said earlier that some Bosnian soldiers had fallen back by 500 to 600 meters (yards), moving across a ridge where they could not be seen by the Serbs.

"They are still some 1.5 kilometer inside the DMZ," and "have stopped to build new shelters," he added.

Details of Bosnian Attack

AU2410194094 Paris AFP in English 1923 GMT 24 Oct 94

[By Francis Curta]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Oct 24 (AFP)—A number of Bosnian Government soldiers Monday [24 October] refused to pull out of a demilitarized zone on Mount Igman and fired at French UN troops tasked with monitoring their withdrawal, UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) officers said here.

The firefight was between French blue helmets and soldiers of the Bosnian 4th Motorized Brigade, commanded by Fikret Prevljak, a local commander in the Krupac area who has pledged not to be budged from the strategic heights. They are important because they control access to the only government-held road linking Sarajevo to the outside world.

The Bosnians first fired at a UN bulldozer involved in opening up a road and then used automatic weapons, firing above the heads of the UN soldiers. They then fired a rocket-propelled grenade which fell some 40 meters (yards) in front of a UN vehicle and some 100 shots were exchanged, according to Captain Marc Frigiere. The Bosnians also set off two remote-controlled mines as UN vehicles advanced towards them. "It is not ruled out that the Bosnians were firing to kill," Frigiere said. Some 30 French UN soldiers were pinned down by fire for over an hour, the spokesman said. There were no reported casualties on either side.

UN Bosnian force commander Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose later met with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic to protest "in the strongest possible terms" at this "potentially catastrophic firing incident," Lieutenant-Colonel Tim Spicer said. It was understood Izetbegovic would be issuing orders to his troops to cease all firing and withdraw from the area, Spicer added. A further meeting between Rose and Izetbegovic was scheduled for Tuesday. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, Bosnian Serbs Monday continued to block UN fuel convoys despite a pledge not to do so from their leader, Radovan Karadzic, to UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi. Akashi repeatedly tried to phone Karadzic on Monday, but was only told the Bosnian Serbs would allow 20 tons of fuel to be shipped to the Moslem-held blockaded enclaves in the east of the country. The fuel situation in the enclaves has reached crisis point and UN

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forces have had to curtail operations there and start using their operational reserves, Spicer said.

B-H Forces Start Withdrawal

AU2410145894 Paris AFP in English 1355 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 24 (AFP)—Up to 120 Bosnian government soldiers have started to abandon positions held in a demilitarized zone (DMZ) on Mount Igman, near Sarajevo, a UN spokesman said here Monday. "They have destroyed their trenches and their shelters," in the western part of the sector, near Mount Vienac, said Major Herve Gourmelon.

But in the eastern part of the sector, where a local commander had pledged to stay put, there were no immediate signs of any troop movement, the spokesman added.

The withdrawal was agreed by Bosnian Vice President Ejup Ganic on Saturday in the wake of pressure from the United Nations and threats from the Bosnian Serbs.

Radio on UNPROFOR Moves

LD2510003894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] By 1800 [1700 GMT] units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army made an organized withdrawal from 80 percent of the area of the demilitarized zone; they have gone back to their old positions.

[Word indistinct] some positions in the general area of (?Prusac) from which our forces did not withdraw, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] forces tried to use force to push back the soldiers of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. However, just as dusk was falling, UNPROFOR attacked the forces of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and heavy fire was opened up on both sides. This lasted half and hour. Fortunately there were no casualties.

The reason for UNPROFOR opening fire on members of the 1st Corps units was that these units, which were stationed in the region of (?Prusac), failed to withdraw because UNPROFOR did not respect its share of the obligations vis-a-vis the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, while members of the Army were merely responding to the fire being directed at them in order to defend their lives and their right to live in their homeland.

The commander of the 1st Corps, Brigadier-General Vahid Karavelic, and a representative of the peacekeeping forces, General [word indistinct], were in the immediate vicinity.

This incident caused by the international peacekeeping forces once again confirms their lack of readiness—at the right time and in the right way—to assess the seriousness of the situation. [passage omitted]

UN Briefs Izetbegovic

AU2410192194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today received General Michael Rose, commander of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] in Bosnia-Herzegovina, General (Erwe Gobiar), head of UNPROFOR for the Sarajevo region, and Victor Andreyev, head of UNPROFOR's civilian sector.

The UNPROFOR representatives briefed President Izetbegovic on the current situation around Sarajevo, especially on the situation on Mount Igman.

Serbs Claim 5,000 Muslims Deployed in DMZ

LD2410164694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Zvornik, Bratunac, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Instead of 500 soldiers of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army—as the Muslim authorities claim—5,000 of them are deployed in the demilitarized zones [DMZ] on Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica which should be controlled by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] forces, sources close to the main headquarters of the Srpska republic army told TANJUG today.

Serb military sources said that Muslim authorities in Sarajevo were trying to deceive "UNPROFOR and the domestic and international public" with "false reports" about the number of their troops on Igman and Bjelasnica and that Muslim units should withdraw from the DMZ's.

This was agreed in principle by Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, and Ejup Ganic, the vice president of the [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Presidency in Sarajevo. However, the Muslim side "wants to avoid the withdrawal of its unit from Igman and Bjelasnica at all costs," Serb military sources said.

According to these sources "over the last few months about 12,500 members of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army were transferred from Sarajevo [to the DMZ's on Igman and Bjelasnica] over and under the airport [runway]. Of this number "7,000 were sent to Mt. Cemerska, a small number arrived on Mt. Treskavica, and all the others were deployed on Igman and Bjelasnica.

Serb military sources said that "the strongest units of the Muslim army's Pazaric operational group are deployed in the DMZ—the complete compositions of the 82d Mountain Brigade, the 1st Muslim Drina Brigade, the Combined Artillery Division, and the Mobile Artillery and Missile Division of the Antiaircraft Defense."

The same source added that "parts of the 1st Motorized Brigade, the 9th Mountain Brigade, and the 4th and 2d Motorized Brigades" were also in the DMZ.

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"Srpska republic army defense positions are targeted on a daily basis" from zones officially designated as protected, occasional "attacks are also being launched" from there, which confirms that these zones "have not been demilitarized".

Serb military sources have pointed out that, at the time of the negotiations on their withdrawal from the DMZ on Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica yesterday and the day before, Muslim units were provoking incidents and inflicting fresh "innocent casualties on the Serb side".

"At 1800 yesterday Muslim formations launched a strong infantry attack on Serb territory from the area of Babin Dol on Mt. Bjelasnica; Srpska republic army forces managed to repel this attack without casualties on their side".

The day before yesterday, however, "unprovoked fire was opened from the protected zone on Mt. Igman on the road leading through Serb territory" near the village of Turovi along which a Srpska republic army vehicle was driving, the result of which was "innocent casualties on the Serb side." [passage omitted]

1st Corps Troops Ambush, Kill 9 Serb Soldiers

LD2410202794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a statement by the information service of the 1st Corps, in a successful ambush, our soldiers in the Treskavica region killed aggressor soldiers and one officer. The military hospitals in Kasindol and Blazuj are full of wounded Serb soldiers.

The information service of the 1st Corps also takes the opportunity to inform the public that officers Zaim Zeljkovic and Dzevad Curan have deserted from units of this corps. We believe that scandals of this kind should not pass in silence, especially in view of the fact that some are making sacrifices and devoting the last ounce of their energy in the struggle for their survival to the liberation of this country, the statement by the information service of the 1st Corps says.

Serb Communique on Attack

LD2410141094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1309 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—The General Staff of the Srpska republic army issued a communique saying that the Muslim army and the political leadership "is signing and publicly promising one thing and doing a completely opposite thing in practice, as has been the case on many occasions so far."

The communique says that the obvious example of hypocritical behavior by the Muslims is their attitude to the agreement on the demilitarization of Mt. Igman and Mt. Bjelasnica. Immediately after the Bosnian vice president [Ejup Ganic] promised [UN representative] Yasushi Akashi that Muslim forces would withdraw from the demilitarized zone, they opened fire on a Srpska republic army vehicle on Serb territory. The consequences of this "brutal, completely unprovoked, and extremely deceitful action" by the Muslim forces are, unfortunately, fresh casualties within the ranks of the Srpska republic army.

This crime is all the more serious because it was perpetrated from "a protected zone" which should be under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] control, after firm guarantees were given that the Muslim forces would withdraw from their positions and because such behavior has not been condemned by international bodies, the Srpska republic army communique says.

1st Corps Denies Attack

AU2510101994 Paris AFP in English 0939 GMT 25 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 25 (AFP)—Bosnian Government forces Tuesday denied attacking a Serb convoy from positions inside the demilitarized zone (DMZ) on Mount Igman, near Sarajevo, saying instead that a "sabotage team" had been active outside the zone.

Government forces on Saturday killed nine Serb soldiers and one officer in a "classical sabotage operation" carried out "in the depth of territory under Serb control," according to a Bosnian 1st Army Corps press release.

The attack took place in the village of Turovi, near Treskavica mountain, on the southern side of Igman Mountain, but outside its demilitarized zone and outside the heavy weapons' exclusion zone which rings Sarajevo, a spokesman said.

The Bosnian Serb SRNA news agency on Monday accused Bosnian forces of firing Saturday on a Serb convoy from within the Igman DMZ, causing a number of casualties.

On October 6, government forces had crossed the Igman DMZ to carry out a commando raid against a Serb position, killing 16 soldiers and four women nurses.

Government forces, under pressure from the United Nations, have reluctantly agreed to evacuate positions held in the Igman DMZ, but a Bosnian unit opened fire on approaching French UN soldiers in the zone on Monday as the withdrawal was supposed to get underway.

It was not immediately clear whether Bosnian forces were withdrawing from their positions in the DMZ on Tuesday.

5th Corps Captures Serb 'Stronghold' Near Bihac

AU2510100194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 25 Oct 94

[Report by Muhamed Mujic from Bihac]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Since early this morning, the notorious chetnik stronghold of Grabez, with many barracks and an enemy logistics center, from which the enemy soldiers controlled the greatest portion of the battlefield and shelled Bihac, has been in the hands of the fighters of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps, who, following heroic battles, took complete control of this stronghold.

It all started yesterday, when the aggressor attacked the entire area of Grmusko-Srbljanski plateau and Grabez plateau. In a powerful counterattack, the fighters of the 5th Corps at Grabez pushed the enemy forces deep into the occupied territories of the Bihac district. In fierce battles, the brave and bold fighters of our Army drove the chetniks into a panic flight. Behind them remained fortified bunkers, trenches, earth cabins, and great a quantity of ammunition and military materiel. In their unstoppable breakthrough, the soldiers of the 5th Corps, commanded by Brigadier General Atif Dudakovic, first surrounded the installation in Grabez and then, in a momentous assault, took complete control of this criminal stronghold from which Bihac has been shelled and innocent civilians killed for over two and a half years.

At the time of this report, fighting continues on the Grabez plateau.

Croatian Army Unit Shells Serb Positions

LD2410173194 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Artillery attacks by the regular Croatian Army that began this morning from Zupanja, on the left bank of the Sava, against Obudovac and Donji Zabar—Serb villages on the road to Krajina—continued during the early afternoon, a SRNA [Bosnian Serb news agency] correspondent was told by the information service of the Eastern Bosnian Corps of the Srpska army in Brcko. There are still no details of the consequences.

Serb soldiers on the Orasje battlefield, after one hour of fighting around noon, succeeded in repelling a strong artillery and infantry attack by units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Croatian Army from Vucilovac and Vidovice—southeast of Orasje—against the neighboring Serb villages of Krepsic and Lepnica. One Serb soldier was seriously wounded, but the front lines remained unchanged.

Three howitzer shells were fired at Brcko today from the left bank of the Sava. Afterwards, a general alert was sounded in the town. The inhabitants are in their shelters.

Serbs Reportedly Stop Muslim Offensive on Kupres

LD2410171294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Zvornik, Bratunac, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—The several-day long ferocious and all-out artillery and infantry attack launched by Muslim units on the Kupres area from the direction of Bugojno is "not only halted but completely crushed," sources close to the Main Headquarters of the Bosnian Serb Republic Army [VRS] told TANJUG's correspondent today.

According to these sources, "in a strong counterattack yesterday [23 October] VRS forces inflicted heavy losses" on the 7th Corps of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, so units of the 7th Corps "have not conducted any offensive operations today and last night." [passage omitted]

Yesterday "Kupres was pounded by 20 122-mm missiles." On this occasion "two women and a child lost their lives, many persons were wounded, while Muslim units also used toxic weapons in these attacks."

The same sources have pointed out that the Srpska republic was in a state of "unprecedented isolation", where even food, clothes, and medicines arrive irregularly"—something that "does not seem to be attracting the attention of international political forces."

5th Corps Repulses Attacks

AU2410153594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Oct 94

[Report by Muhamed Mulic]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bihac region has been under a fierce artillery attack since 1400 [1300 GMT], and the general danger alarm has been sounded.

[Mulic] [words indistinct] are taking place on the Buzim part of the front, near Bosanska Krupa and Bosanska Otoka. On the Buzim front, the enemy is extensively using artillery and [word indistinct], especially in the area around (?Kelica) Glavica and Herzegovina. Infantry attacks did not lack either. The fighters of the 503d Buzim Chivalrous Motorized Brigade successfully neutralized the (?attacks) with organized response and the (?enemy) is retreating to its initial positions.

The aggressor is also attacking in the Bosanska Krupa and Bosanska Otoka areas, where the front defense lines [words indistinct] artillery attacks and occasional infantry assaults by the chetniks, who fired a number of armor piercing projectiles on the left bank of the Una river. There were no casualties among the fighters of the 5th Corps.

B-H Army Captures Areas Near Bugojno, Gradacac

AU2410134794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Sarajevo UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] headquarters today reported that the forces of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army forces have liberated a part of the territory (?west) of Bugojno.

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The peacekeepers' spokesman also said that the units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army have liberated yet another chunk of the territory (?near Gradacac) [words indistinct] and (?moved into a counterattack).

However, [word indistinct] assessed that the situation near Gradacac and Doboj was yesterday more peaceful than it had been in the previous days.

The air link between the world and Sarajevo is open even though the number of flights has been somewhat lower over the past few days. Yesterday, (?20) aircraft landed at Sarajevo Airport, the Sarajevo UNPROFOR Headquarters reports. Today, 23 flights are scheduled, of which 12 are UNHCR flights with the humanitarian aid for the capital.

Serb Helicopters Overfly Brcko, Bijeljina

AU2410162894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Oct 94

[Report by Ramiza Muharemovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] The artillery attacks on the free parts of the Celic commune that started yesterday were resumed today. The targets of chetnik artillery were [words indistinct] and Celic and our defense lines. Ramiza Muharemovic reports on the situation in this area:

[Muharemovic] In addition, early this morning [words indistinct] strong aggressor forces were noticed regrouping around Piperi, Brodiste, Luka, and [word indistinct]. This is happening every day. Several helicopter overflights between Bijeljina and Brcko and vice versa were also noticed. Material damage is substantial, but there were no casualties.

Serbs Renege on Promise To Allow Passage of Fuel

AU2410130394 Paris AFP in English 1240 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 24 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces reneged Monday on their weekend pledge to lift their blockade of fuel convoys destined to UN troops, UN spokesman Thant Myint-U said.

"Yesterday evening we learned that in fact clearance would not be given for the convoys today," Myint-U said. "We find this completely intolerable. This is the latest action in a long line of interference by the Bosnian Serb side in the carrying out of our mandate and work."

Bosnian Serb forces, which occupy 70 per cent of the former Yugoslav republic, have only been allowing a handful of fuel tankers through for some weeks. But on Saturday UN special envoy to ex-Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi met with with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic who pledged to allow the convoys free passage within 24 hours.

Myint-U said Akashi would be contacting Karadzic Monday to protest the blockade. "It's a very frustrating situation for us," he said.

The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] in the past has had to ask for permission for each of its convoys to pass through Serb checkpoints. There is an almost routine refusal where fuel is concerned. The Serbs stepped up the pressure three weeks ago after Bosnian commandos infiltrated a UN-monitored demilitarized zone on Mount Igman to attack a Serb command post, killing 20 including four female military nurses.

Serbian Blockade Discussed

AU2410191694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At a session chaired by President Alija Izetbegovic today, the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina discussed the situation concerning the negotiations that the legal authorities are holding with the Serbian side with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mediation, especially the situation on Mt. Igman. It was concluded that these negotiations should lead to the reopening of the blue routes that were unilaterally blocked by the aggressor, who is now hindering the normal functioning of UNPROFOR, interrupting its regular supply lines.

The Presidency also discussed a number of other issues that are within its jurisdiction and decided to pardon a number of convicted individuals.

The Presidency also accepted the credentials of the New Zealand ambassador, who will be the country's nonresident ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina with his seat in Rome.

Political Parties Demand Gen. Rose's Dismissal

LD2410232494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Ejup Ganic, a member of the presidency of the republic and vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation, had a meeting today with representatives and leaders of the parliamentary parties. The meeting was also attended by presidency member Ivo Komsic, Assembly President Miro Lazovic, and Hasan Muratovic, a minister in the government of the republic and the federation responsible for cooperation with the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR].

They discussed the incorrect policy of the UN commander, British General Michael Rose, regarding the situation in the Sarajevo protected zone and especially regarding the new situation on Mount Igman. Representatives of the parliamentary parties adopted a decision to send a letter of protest to Yasushi Akashi, special envoy of the UN secretary general, to inform him of the negative policy of General Rose, UNPROFOR commander in chief in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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After their meeting with Ejup Ganic, the parliamentary political parties in the assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina issued a joint statement which says:

The parliamentary political parties in the assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina deeply appreciate—regardless of the results—the UN efforts to establish peace in this area. In particular, they respect the obvious UN efforts to send humanitarian aid, and the airdrops, which have enabled the survival of hundreds of thousands of civilians. Hence we express, on behalf of our members and the internationally recognized State of Bosnia- Herzegovina, our sincerest thanks to and recognition of the international community.

This is why the behavior of Gen. Sir Michael Rose, UNPROFOR commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina, is impermissible [words indistinct]. Why should troops of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina withdraw from Igman, when at the same time there is tolerance of the fact that the only road linking Sarajevo with the world is under threat of being fired on by the Serb aggressor?. This is fresh evidence of such behavior. Special stress is laid on the fact that units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army today withdrew from the demilitarized zone of Igman, while UNPROFOR has (?done) nothing to secure the road from Hrasnica, where the aggressors' artillery is in action.

The parliamentary political parties request that a debate be held in the assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina on relations between the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and UNPROFOR and the consistent application of all UN resolutions and declarations on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The need was also stressed to take all measures to acquaint the international community with the whole series of flagrant violations of our laws and international law by one section of UNPROFOR members.

So we request that Gen. Sir Michael Rose leave the post he is currently in. We request an objective, unbiased commander, capable of implementing UN resolutions, who will also be a UN official and not a general who represents the interests of his own government. Thus says the joint statement signed by the Party of Democratic Action, the Croatian Democratic Union, the Social Democratic Party, the Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina Social Democrats, the Civil Democratic Party, the Liberal Bosniak Organization, the Croatian Peasant Party, and the Liberal Party.

Party on 'Biased' Behavior

LD2310105494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Social Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina issued a protest today regarding behavior displayed by General Michael Rose, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The protest says among other things:

As the leadership of one of the Bosnia-Herzegovina parliamentary parties we would like to express our protest against the arrogant and extremely biased, openly anti-Bosnian, behavior displayed by Gen. Michael Rose who has ignored all the UN resolutions adopted so far. His demand that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army troops withdraw from Mt. Igman, simultaneously tolerating being fired upon along the only road connecting Sarajevo with the rest of the world by the chetnik aggressor, is a fresh proof that the United Nations have sided with the Fascist murderers.

In support of decisions made by the state leadership of our country we call on the entire international democratic public to prevent the further strangulation of Sarajevo, and on the United Nations to replace Gen. Rose.

We would like to tell Gen. Rose that his disgraceful behavior, which is not worthy of his general's rank, will not and cannot prevent the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army from winning over Karadzic's cutthroats, the protest by the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina says among other things.

Serb Vice President: Deny Hospitality to UN

LD2410174794 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Biljana Plavsic, vice president of the Srpska republic, said in an interview with the latest edition of [name indistinct] that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] should be denied further hospitality on the territory of the Srpska republic.

UNPROFOR members are no longer behaving like peacekeepers but are indirectly—as was the case on Mt. Igman recently—and directly—by aiding the Muslims—siding with one of the warring sides, Biljana Plavsic explained.

Commenting on the total blockade imposed by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia against the Srpska republic, the Srpska republic vice president stressed that she was surprised that the Serbian regime did not acknowledge the Serb people in these regions and was resorting to blackmail and pressure against them.

The international community has not determined acceptable logical principles for the demarcation of the states on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Biljana Plavsic emphasized, adding that the two most important principles for this should have been respect for existing natural boundaries and territorial continuity. Before entering into a confederation the Srpska republic should receive a document on state sovereignty, the Srpska republic vice president stressed, specifying that

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the idea that the Srpska republic should enter into a confederation without sovereignty was a perfidious game by the international community, because in such a case the representatives of the Srpska republic would no longer have a legitimate mandate to represent the interests of the people and would have to give up this right to Serbia.

Krajisnik Urges UN To Alter Policy on Serbs

95P20070A Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 1 Oct 94 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Futile Threats"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the assembly of the republic of Srpska [RS], has informed the Beta Agency that as early as today RS leaders are expected to meet with military and civilian sector representatives of UNPROFOR "in order to bring the relations to a level of higher quality."

"We are not satisfied with UNPROFOR's behavior, and our relations are presently in question, particularly since UNPROFOR ordered the bombing of Serbian positions," Krajisnik said.

On the subject of the blockade of UNPROFOR convoys, Krajisnik said the condition for their transit is that UNPROFOR treat the Serbs the same way it treats the Muslims and the Croats.

He accused UNPROFOR of joining the "Serbian enemies," slipping arms to them, and even helping them directly in military operations.

Commenting on the increased military threat against the Bosnian Serbs in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Krajisnik said that making the situation more acute on the military level can only prolong the war and certainly not lead toward agreement on the maps. "The hard-core attitude of our enemies and the mediators who have sided with them must change in order to achieve a solution. The hard-core insisting on these maps only leads to prolonging the war," he said. Krajisnik approves of a possible meeting of Milosevic, Tudman, and Izetbegovic, as proposed by Juppe, chief of the French Diplomatic Service, but he doubts that this meeting would produce a solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"This problem cannot be resolved if all three sides from Bosnia-Herzegovina are not participating. Izetbegovic could be one of the participants in such talks, but never the only representative of Bosnia-Herzegovina," he added.

Karadzic Cited on 'Antagonism' Toward Pale

AU2410191194 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Oct 94 p 2

["M.M."-attributed report: "Why We Are in Pale"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka—"Some people, unfortunately some fully responsible people in the Banja Luka region are continuing their antagonism toward Pale by creating a certain atmosphere and way of thinking," Radovan Karadzic said at talks with lecturers and professors of Banja Luka University.

"Pale does not exist. Pale is a small village that is currently the seat of our state authorities.... Our reason for being there is the need to be on the front line," Karadzic explained. "We must be positioned in a forward command position and I must tell you how important it is for us to have held Sarajevo. There would have been no state had we not held Sarajevo. Izetbegovic would not have negotiated if he had a territorial link between Sarajevo and Zenica. He would have rejected all negotiations and all talks. He would have said: 'I am sorry, but I have a state. You have recognized it. I have some rebel Serbs around the edges and am waiting for them to divide. Some of them will join me and some will emigrate to Serbia. Therefore. I do not want to negotiate' he would say," Karadzic said.

Karadzic gave the example of Sudan where a Christian leader had created a southern enclave independent from Khartoum, albeit not recognized as a state. They are living as rebels, but Sudan refuses to talk about them with anyone. That would have happened to us had we left Sarajevo.

"Our primary task was to create our own state and to prevent Izetbegovic from creating his. One never holds a snake by the tail but by the head, and we had to do that," Karadzic said.

Silajdzic Says West Supports 'Greater Serbia'

AU2110101394 Paris AFP in English 2225 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Pristina [Kosovo], Yugoslavia, Oct 20 (AFP)—Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, Thursday accused the international community of supporting "proponents of a Greater Serbia" over the division of Bosnia, a press report said.

In an interview to be published here Friday by the weekly ZERI, the Bosnian premier charged that the West had "disarmed us and given the Serbs a time advantage which has allowed them to realise their objectives and maintain the status quo" in Bosnia.

In the interview Silajdzic attacked the Contact Group of representatives from Britain, France, Germnay, Russia and the United States that drafted the Bosnia partition plan that the Bosnian Serbs have rejected. Under the plan the Serb side would cede around a third of the 70 percent of Bosnian territory currently under its control. The premier warned the Contact Group that it could well "lose the Bosnian side as a partner" if it gave way to Serb pressure, adding that the plan was "not at all fair and rewards the aggressor."

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He hit out at recent statements from Paris in support of the Bosnian Serbs' wishes to link up with rump Yugoslavia, comprising Serbia and Montenegro. France had "taken the decision to be the first to break the mirror and put pressure on us, telling us of the hypothetical right of Bosnian Serb fascists to link up with Belgrade while those same fascists carry out ethnic cleansing."

Silajdzic hit out at what he called an "anti-Islamic syndrome" in Europe, promising a secular democracy in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

He also predicted a possible worsening of ethnic tensions in Kosovo, a southern Serbian province whose mainly ethnic Albanian population has demanded its independence and declared a clandestine "republic of Kosovo". "Total war" could break out in Kosovo, provoking a military intervention in ex-Yugoslavia by the United States, he warned.

Separately in Pristina Thursday, a group of militant nationalist Serbs from Kosovo called on Belgrade authorities to "crush" the Albanian separatist movement, and began circulating a petition to that effect. [passage omitted]

Ljubijankic Says U.S. 'Only Hope' on Embargo

AU2210151194 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 10 Oct 94 p 7

[Interview with Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic by Azra Kaurin; place and date not given: "The Contact Group Has Broken Its Promise"]

[FBIS-Translated Text] Last weekend, Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic returned from Madrid, where he and his aides attended the annual session of the IMF and the World Bank. He had many meetings and talks with officials from other countries. Among other things, we asked Minister Ljubijankic about the personnel changes in diplomatic missions and about the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Ljubijankic] We were relatively successful at the Madrid meeting. We held talks with IMF and World Bank officials and determined exactly what we need to do in order to become full members of those institutions. We must allocate finances to pay the membership fee, take part in the rescheduling debt payment, and, naturally, pay off some debts.

Intertwining Interests

We held many meetings—almost one every hour, approximately 10- 15 meetings a day—which was extremely exhausting. We focused on two things. Among other things, we also worked on an organization involving a group of countries with a fairly active role in international meetings called "Friends of Bosnia." It is planned to include World Bank shareholders that would be entrusted with debt payment arrangements. Of course, that does not mean they would pay our debts: No one will do that. Rather, it is a very important business that requires agreement of most of the influential factors of financial institutions. We presented the idea at those meetings and there was a positive response. Indeed, there were no written confirmations, but we expect to hear whether our proposal is rejected or accepted in a couple of weeks.

We initiated the establishment of the so-called trust fund, which is planned to finance expert jobs, plans, or concrete assignments in debt repayment. We expounded on our plan for the financial reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is supposed to be lead by the World Bank. Before the plan is realized, Bosnia-Herzegovina would have to become an IMF member, and that is a painstaking process. All the talks we held in Madrid helped us to determine precisely what we have to do in order to reach our goal.

[Kaurin] Could you please comment on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina following the UN General Assembly session?

[Ljubijankic] From a legal point of view, it is quite simple, but it is much more complicated in practice due to opposing interests which, in my opinion, intertwine at the expense of Bosnia. The solution inspires the hope that the arms embargo will be lifted and some planned interests satisfied. I am primarily referring to the interests of the European countries whose soldiers are stationed in Bosnia-Herzegovina that have threatened to pull out. Another aspect is our enclaves on the east of Bosnia, which would then be seriously endangered.

Faith in the United States

Let me repeat that we did not give up on demanding the lifting of the embargo; we are merely asking that it be postponed. We demanded that the embargo be lifted at the session of the General Assembly as well, but only in six months, in order to give some extra time to those countries with a vested interest in the region. It is hard to say what was crucial in making this decision, for it is the last drop that ends it all. Srebrenica was certainly an important factor.

[Kaurin] Do you believe that the arms embargo against Bosnia-Herzegovina will eventually be lifted?

[Ljubijankic] Members of the Contact Group are very inconsistent, which is a political term for something I will not say openly. They made a promise and broke it. Now the United States is our only hope, and we can do nothing but wait and see whether it will keep its promise.

[Kaurin] Is there any chance that the soldiers of those peacekeeping forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina from countries that want to pull out can be replaced by soldiers from Islamic countries? Iran has offered to send as many as 10,000 soldiers.

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[Ljubijankic] I do not believe in that solution. It would result in an additional polarization among the Contact Group countries.

[Kaurin] Could you please comment on the relations between Belgrade and Pale and the supervision of the border between Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Ljubijankic] It seems to me that the personal relationship between Milosevic and Karadzic has been seriously disturbed. Furthermore, I believe that goods are crossing the border. I do not know how or through which channels. It is not known whether Milosevic knows anything about it either. And even if he did know, I do not think he would do anything to prevent goods from crossing the border. The Bosnia-Herzegovina border is very long and is difficult to monitor, which is why Serbia is still sending supplies to Karadzic's Serbs.

Introducing Order Into Embassies

[Kaurin] You are said to be a minister who introduced order into the embassies and consulates of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Ljubijankic] I announced my intentions and there have been quite a few changes. Let me point out that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not have an adequate insight into expenses, there was no system, there was no research and development department for security problems, they were too busy, and they ran up phone bills, not to mention cars. We are currently redistributing a great number of cars. We have done a lot and I am personally very satisfied. The fact that, in some cases, we employ both the husband and the wife is purely for economic reasons so that we do not have to solve more housing problems.

[Kaurin] Why are Bosnian passports and documents in general so expensive, considering the circumstances, especially for refugees? Is not 130 German marks too much for a passport?

[Ljubijankic] Refugees without income are exempt from paying for documents, and those who have an income can afford to pay the price. Many refugees work and get paid, but it is hard to prove it. Refugees in camps have no income.

[Kaurin] Does that mean that refugees in camps do not have to pay for passports?

[Ljubijankic] Of course, their documents are free of charge, for they have no income. It is difficult to determine who earns a salary, but ambassadors have the right to decide whom to give free documents to at their own discretion.

[Kaurin] People were very upset over the high salaries of Bosnia-Herzegovina embassy employees. Is the passport money used to pay their salaries?

[Ljubijankic] Our embassy employees are now earning half of what they did before. The employees are protesting that, but if they cannot live on that money, then they are free to return to Bosnia. Money collected from the fees that people pay for documents in Bosnia-Herzegovina embassies and consulates is used exclusively for the needs of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government.

Akmadzic to the United States

[Kaurin] How far did you get with regard to personnel changes in Bosnia-Herzegovina embassies and consulates in order to have a fair representation of Croats?

[Ljubijankic] We have an agreement with the Republic of Croatia that we will "cover" each other in countries where either Bosnia-Herzegovina or Croatia do not have diplomatic missions. We are satisfied with the agreement and will do our best to honor it. The agreement on the proportional representation of Croats is being implemented as planned and, for the time being, I only have unofficial information that Mile Akmadzic is to go to the United States.

[Kaurin] You recently visited Libya and asked President al-Qadhdhafi to use his influence in Serbia to help solve the Sandzak problem. The public knows next to nothing about it. Do you perhaps know whether al-Qadhdhafi helped Sandzak at all and how?

[Ljubijankic] You are right, I did talk to President al-Qadhdhafi about the problem of Sandzak as well. It is very difficult to get reliable information on the situation in Sandzak. We gave President al-Qadhdhafi a pile of documents on human right violations, exile, killing, persecution, kindnapping. Those documents give exact dates, names, and location. al-Qadhdhafi took those documents and promised to have a talk with the Serbs. We still do not know what he did about it. In the meantime, according to information we are getting from the Muslim National Council, the situation in Sandzak is getting worse by the minute.

[Kaurin] Last month, much dust was raised over the fact that Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens working in Germany paying income taxes. Did you give up trying to collect income taxes for rebuilding and defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina after the protest of the German Government?

[Ljubijankic] We will eliminate the clause on compulsory payment, namely the clause that says that payment is a tax. We will introduce a clause that calls it voluntary allocation of a part of one's income for Bosnia-Herzegovina defense and rebuilding. We informed the German Government about those changes. However, I must tell you that a surprisingly small number of people working abroad volunteered to give some money to help their mother country.

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President Izetbegovic Visits 4th Corps, Konjic

LD2310194394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] After a visit to free Bosnia-Herzegovina territory, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, has returned to Sarajevo. On this occasion, before his return to Sarajevo, let us recall the events of last night when President Izetbegovic visited soldiers of the 4th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army on recently liberated territory in the municipality of Konjic. Here is a report by [name indistinct]:

[Correspondent] On this occasion the president expressed his admiration for, and congratulated, soldiers and officers on the successes they have achieved in liberating more than 100 km of territory in parts of the Konjic municipality, which until recently was occupied. The fate of Bosnia-Herzegovina is in the hands of our Army, Izetbegovic said, addressing the soldiers of this military formation.

After touring the lines, President Izetbegovic had brief meetings with 4th Corps headquarters members and brigade commanders. Stressing the huge progress the 4th Corps and our Army have registered since his last visit to these units in October of last year, Izetbegovic linked this with the fact that every three to four months fresh cadres—both soldiers and officers—are emerging from our recruitment and training centers. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic Against 'Mini Berlin Wall' in Mostar

LD2410134194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1254 GMT 24 Oct 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 24 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic has called on European Union administrator of Mostar Hans Koschnik to prevent the building of a "mini Berlin wall" in the city.

Izetbegovic said Sunday he was against any barriers between the eastern Muslim and western Croat parts of Mostar, city 75 km southwest of Sarajevo. Muslim Radio Mostar quoted Izetbegovic as saying in the Muslim part of Mostar that the implementation of the Washington agreement on forming a Muslim-Croat federation in Bosnia was "advancing very slowly." Izetbegovic said the Croats in Mostar would not be able to maintain such a situation for much longer and that they would soon have to allow the Muslims to freely pass through the Croat state of Herceg-Bosna just like the Croats could freely pass through Muslim-held territories.

After a year of mutual heavy fighting, the United States pressured the Bosnian Muslims and Croats to sign an agreement in Washington on setting up their federation in Bosnia, but they still have separate organs of power and continue clashing on a daily basis.

The Croatian radio of Herceg-Bosna said Monday that Dzevad Mlaco, the mayor of Bugojno, town in central Bosnia, had banned the Croatian delegation and Muslim-Croat federation President Kresimir Zubak (a Croat) from entering the municipal buildings.

The radio said that the popularity of Muslim-Croat federation Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic (a Muslim) was rapidly declining after he refused to appoint Croats as cabinet members in Sarajevo on Friday.

At a meeting in Mostar last week, Silajdzic and Muslim-Croat federation Deputy Prime Minister Jadranko Prlic (a Croat) failed to agree on the conditions for calling the federation's constitutional assembly.

The radio said Silajdzic had rejected the Croatian demand to change the borders of the federal cantons although his "was one of the Croatian conditions for holding the constitutional assembly session."

General Delic: Total Liberation 'Inevitable'

AU2410174194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Oct 94

[Report by Ermina Zeminovic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] On the occasion of the first anniversary of the wartime officers' college and the completion of education by the first class of cadets attending the combat command course and the first class of cadets attending the logistics support course, a festive session was held in Zenica today. The session was attended by Army General Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Supreme Command, the brigadier generals of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the General Staff of the Supreme Command, corps commanders, and representatives of civil authorities and religious communities. Ermina Zeminovic reports:

[Zeminovic] Addressing those present (?on the) first anniversary of the wartime officers' college and congratulating them on the successful completion of education, Muharem Petahagic, head of the college's education and training, spoke about the importance of the [words indistinct] institution in the education of the officers of our army. [passage omitted] Those attending the ceremony were then addressed by Army Gen. Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Supreme Command, on behalf of the General Staff and members of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Begin Delic recording] At this moment the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina is the force that is protecting Bosnia-Herzegovina and its people. The Army has strength and is demonstrating on all fronts throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina that it can effectively oppose (?the aggressor) and at the same time, in counterattacks, liberate the areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina that have been

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under occupation for two and a half years. This is being demonstrated on all fronts throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina.

All of us are one people, and all those who have been working on the strengthening of the defense of Bosnia-Herzegovina, have created an army in which no distinction is made between its corps and between its units, an army in which all our units and corps are opposing the aggression in the correct way and proving with their strength and (?ability) that those who thought that they can occupy Bosnia-Herzegovina and erase the traces of, above all, the Bosniak Muslim people in this region stand no chance.

The recent results and even the statements by officials show that [words indistinct] is the one with prospects, is the one that in the long or short run can and must win against the Serbian- Montenegrin aggressor. This is only a matter of time, and this time does not depend on us but on those who have deprived us of the right to defend ourselves and to preserve the state integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina. If they let us with their measures and acts—and we are not asking for anything more from them than our right to self- defense, the right to defend the people and the country—then this process will move faster. If they continue to obstruct our liberation struggle, this process will be somewhat slower, but is inevitable. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Presidency's Durakovic Sees 'Tense' Situation

AU2410195694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 18000 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Nijaz Durakovic, member of the state Presidency, who is paying a visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina's free territories, held a news conference in Tuzla today.

Having stressed the favorable impressions of the successes and organization of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Durakovic described the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina as tense, and expressed doubt about the concrete realization of the Constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

The member of the Presidency blamed this on some individuals who caused this conflict and who are still in power. Durakovic said that with the Federation coming into being, the personal interests of these individuals, who are on both sides, would suffer.

ICRC Starts 'Soup Kitchen' Program in Sarajevo

AU2410130994 Paris AFP in English 1245 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 24 (AFP)—The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) Monday announced the start of a six-month soup kitchen programme to help feed the sick and the elderly in Sarajevo over the winter.

The programme aims to provide hot meals once a day to 7,000 people in the government-held part of town and 3,000 in the Serb- held sector, ICRC spokeswoman Lisa Jones said here. The programme, run by the ICRC and the German Red Cross, will operate 20 soup kitchens serving meals made up of rice, beans, pasta, corned beef, vegetables and bread. Deliveries will be organised for those unable to leave their homes.

The servings will provide a daily ration of 350 grams (12.3 ounces) of bread and 700 grams (24.6 ounces) of prepared food, or about 1,500 calories, to supplement rations handed out by other relief organisations.

Meanwhile, the ICRC last week launched another programme to provide lunchtime meals to school children aged 7 to 14 in the Sarajevo area. Some 33,000 children in 44 primary schools on the government side and 11,500 children in 30 schools on the Serb side are given a glass of milk and a sandwich for lunch five days a week.

Republic-Wide Electricity Grid Breaks Down

LD2410222594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a statement issued by the information service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina electricity board, the Jablanica-Kakanj high voltage power line broke down at around 1830 [1730 GMT] this evening, causing a collapse of the Bosnia-Herzegovina power grid.

According to the Bosnia-Herzegovina electricity board, the breakdown was caused by bad weather conditions in Herzegovina [words indistinct]. Three generators of the Kakanj thermo-electric power plant ceased operation after the incident and the Bosnia-Herzegovina power system will not be able to use the Grabovica hydro-electric power plant or a part of the output of the Rama hydro-electric power plant. Electricity from the Tuzla thermo-electric plant will be supplied only to vital consumers in the free territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina until the above-mentioned power line is repaired.

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Akashi Confirms Serb-Croat Meeting in Graz

AU2410212694 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 20 Oct 94 pp 6,7

[Interview with Yasushi Akashi, special UN envoy for former Yugoslavia, by Sanja Despot; place and date not given: "We Have Signs That Peace Is Approaching"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Despot] Before the extension of UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] mandate you announced that the United Nations would take account of Croatia's desires; however, the UN Security Council has disregarded the basic demands stated by the Croatian parliament in the resolution regarding UNPROFOR's mandate. For instance, parliament approved 100 additional days, while the Security Council gave them twice as much.

[Akashi] I would not put it that way. At my recent meeting with President Tudjman, I congratulated him on the success that the Croatian diplomatic corps had accomplished in New York. Of course, you can never get everything that you want, but many Croatian demands have been added to Resolution 947.

[Despot] For instance?

[Akashi] For instance, there is the recognition of Croatia's sovereignty over its international borders, the demand for mutual recognition between Croatia and Serbia, and a precise definition of the economic issues that Croatia ought to resolve with the authorities in Knin. Also, you can see in many other details that Croatian priorities have been added to the resolution.

[Despot] But these demands may not come to fruition for 10 years. There are no deadlines, and we do not have so much time.

[Akashi] I hope that you are not children. Only a child demands everything that it wants immediately. All responsible adults must know that they can obtain immediately only what is immediately possible to obtain. The content of the UN resolution requires full cooperation among all the parties to whom it pertains. However, I would like to reassure you that our considerations are really serious and frank. Within UNPROFOR we have formed a group incorporating the ambassadors of the international peace conference, including Ambassador Eide, which is supposed to remove current obstacles in our way toward the accomplishment of our tasks, on which Butrus Butrus-Ghali is supposed to report to the UN Security Council by 24 January next year. If the obstacles turn out to be stronger than we are, it should be pointed out even now that the responsibility for that will be put for the most part precisely on the parties to the conflict. That is to say, progress depends chiefly on their cooperation and good will.

In Politics We Always Have To Be Optimists

[Despot] Are you referring to the clause on reopening the railroads and roads, and the water-supply systems?

[Akashi] ...The Zagreb-Belgrade highway, the Adriatic oil pipe-line, and power systems. All these questions are very important for Croatia, so we want to show to you in the first place, and then to the international community, that efforts are being made regarding these issues.

[Despot] Can all this be done within three months?

[Akashi] The answer is very short: certainly.

[Despot] The deadline seems quite short to us.

[Akashi] On Monday I went to Pakrac, where I visited the water pumping station on the territory controlled by the Serbs, which is supposed to supply both Croatian and Serbian citizens in the region with water.

[Despot] Is that the only thing so far?

[Akashi] No, we are very interested in reactivating the water pumping station in Kakma, which is very important for supplying Zadar with water, while there are also other stations that ought to be reactivated. However, as yet there has been no progress.

[Despot] After last week's meeting with you, President Tudjman told journalists that the question of reintegrating the occupied regions was a matter of months or even weeks. Did you encourage him in such a view?

[Akashi] No, no. I do not know what the basis is for such optimism on the part of your president. Still, in politics we always have to be optimists.

[Despot] Does that mean that you did not tell him that things were suddenly improving?

[Akashi] You should ask him to answer this, because it was not I who made such optimistic statements after our meeting.

The Croatian Problem Should be Resolved Simultaneously With That of Bosnia-Herzegovina

[Despot] You told journalists that there were obstacles in the implementation of the resolution. What were you referring to?

[Akashi] There are obstacles. For instance, in the implementation of the pilot project regarding the return of the refugees, which we are working on together with the UNHCR. We have made a list of places to which the refugees could safely return. The Croatian Government has given to us its own list, while the Knin authorities have given us one of their own. Thus we have three lists that are completely different. For us it is important to have cooperation in order to harmonize our proposals.

[Despot] Well, why not cooperate then?

[Akashi] We shall.

[Despot] During this summer's blockade you promised the refugees association that the pilot project would be completed by August. Now it is already October.

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[Akashi] Our staff are working on this, trying to harmonize the proposals made by both sides. There is still no agreement.

[Despot] The Croatian negotiators emphasize that the greatest success of Resolution 947 is the introduction of a contact group to deal with the problem of the Croatian occupied regions as well.

[Akashi] President Tudjman probably thinks it is good that the international community is paying more attention to Croatia, emphasizing that the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia must be bound up with the reintegration of the occupied regions in Croatia. It seems that in this regard you should really be satisfied. Because the world is no longer absorbed solely in the crisis in Bosnia, that is, the conviction has matured that the Croatian problem should be dealt with simultaneously.

[Despot] Did Croatia propel the Contact Group into the game, or is it the Contact Group trying to impose some solution on Croatia?

[Akashi] Croatia was more interested in this, so it thus received the support of the world powers.

I Do Not Like the Word Imposition

[Despot] Does that mean that no peace plan will be imposed on us either by a small or a big contact group?

[Akashi] I do not like the word imposition. The international concept should be worked out by unbiased protagonists, who should also take the stances of the two warring factions into consideration.

[Despot] Does that mean that there will not be any take-it-or-leave-it option?

[Akashi] No.

[Despot] Then the negotiating process might never end, is that right?

[Akashi] This week in New York some plans are being discussed. Of course, do not think that as early as tomorrow you will have a ready solution, although this is precisely what is being announced in the Croatian press these days.

[Despot] Is there a danger that the final proposal will put forward federalization, or even confederalization to Croatia?

[Akashi] No, there is no such danger, as far as I am aware of the ideas being discussed. For the time being, I would not even call it a plan.

[Despot] Is UNPROFOR losing its significance following the more considerable engagement of the Contact Group?

[Akashi] Our engagement is not contradictory at all. UNPROFOR provides conditions for the accomplishment of a global settlement, which is precisely the task of the Contact Group. We are doing the same job.

[Despot] Is it at all possible to accomplish a political solution acceptable to both Zagreb and Knin?

[Akashi] We have signs that peace is approaching, because neither side can endure this any longer.

[Despot] Are there any signs from Knin? Have the Serbs given up on the creation of their own state?

[Akashi] The international mediators are trying to convince them to give up on that issue.

Secret Diplomacy Is Necessary

[Despot] There are rumors that Croats and Serbs negotiated last week in Graz, while, reportedly, a delegation of senior Croatian officials has again been in Knin recently.

[Akashi] It is good to negotiate as much as possible. With all due respect to you journalists, secret diplomacy is necessary.

[Despot] So, despite the denials issued by Foreign Minister Granic and President Tudjman, are you confirming that this meeting in Graz did take place?

[Akashi] I have been told so, but I was not present, so I could not tell you what they discussed.

[Despot] Were there any international mediators present there?

[Akashi] No.

[Despot] Will Croatia end up with a state within a state?

[Akashi] One state can consist of a lot of states, as is the case with the United States. I do not know what you would call that, but at the meeting of the General Assembly President Tudjman spoke about a very high degree of autonomy, as well as the highest standards of human rights that he is ready to grant to the Serbs. I think that was a very clear and important statement.

[Despot] You certainly know what the proposals made within the Contact Group are like. Since we here can only guess what they are all about, tell us at least what the crucial points are.

[Akashi] I am not familiar with all the details, while some of them are constantly changing.

[Despot] But you know the essence, do you not?

[Akashi] Yes, I do. But I am not authorized to talk about this.

[Despot] What kind of autonomy will be proposed for Krajina?

[Akashi] As broad as possible. Let us not discuss the details. Read the statements by your president.

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[Box, p 6]

[Despot] The deputies of the Assembly who debated the UNPROFOR mandate for many days are quite angry that Butrus-Ghali submitted his report to the UN Security Council before listening to the opinion of the Croatian parliament. Some say that he will not listen to us in January, either.

[Akashi] Well, we are negotiating with the Croatian Government.

[Despot] What about the Assembly? Does it count at all in the Security Council what the Assembly decides?

[Akashi] Well, in Croatia there are 1,000 different opinions regarding the UNPROFOR mandate, but our partner is the Croatian Government. That is, as far as we are concerned, the key individuals are the president of the republic and the foreign minister.

[Box, p 7]

[Despot] How did you understand the Croatian Army's recent maneuvers called Poseidon?

[Akashi] No comment.

[Despot] Did you understand it as a message?

[Akashi] I think it is a message to some embassies.

[Despot] Which embassies?

[Akashi] Those of the countries taking part in the Contact Group. The maneuvers could have been understood also as a message that the Croatian Army is strong and ready. However, I think that the final solution ought to be accomplished by political means, rather than by military force.

Valentic Criticizes Slovene Stance on Piran Bay

LD2410174094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Nikica Valentic, prime minister of the Croatian Government, has replied to Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek's official statement which claimed that Piran Bay belongs to Slovenia alone. This is the reply:

We are deeply concerned over the statement on Piran Bay made by Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek in his reply to a public question raised by Daniel Starman, a lawyer from Koper. In it he claims that the entire Piran Bay belongs to Slovenia since Slovenia's jurisdiction and authority was exercised over this area in the former Yugoslavia.

This statement made by the Slovene side is at odds with the true state of affairs. Croatia possesses irrefutable evidence to the effect that its maritime authorities exercised the prerogatives of authority [as heard]. In addition to this, no border line at sea between the two republics within the Piran Bay has ever been drawn.

We are particularly concerned over the fact that this statement is a continuation of the series of unilateral acts that started with the change of the Ljubljana Banks' statute, the adoption of the Law on the Establishment of Municipalities, under which a part of Croatian territory was included in the Piran municipality, and now, this statement by the prime minister of the Republic of Slovenia, which is at variance with the Slovene side's earlier assurances that it wanted to resolve open issues with the Republic of Croatia in a democratic way within the framework of bilateral negotiations.

The Republic of Croatia has offered the Republic of Slovenia demarcation at sea in keeping with international law—the middle line with free passage to the open sea. It was also willing to seek, within the framework of negotiations, a solution most favorable to both sides. Prime Minister Drnovsek's latest statement annuls the results of the negotiations between the two countries, particularly those achieved in the course of the meeting in Brdo kod Kranja of the two government delegations headed by the two prime ministers, because it prejudices the solution to this border problem.

Because of all this, the Republic of Croatia maintains that there is even less room for negotiating an agreement, while it reiterates its willingness to accept international arbitration regarding the resolution of open issues, i.e. the border line in the Piran Bay. The Republic of Croatia will remain firm in protecting its interests, the Government of the Republic of Croatia says in its statement.

Tudjman Appoints Official for UN Relations

LD2110165494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] On the basis of Article 106 of the Croatian Constitution, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has appointed Zlatko Matesa as deputy head of the commission for relations with the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR]. The decision takes effect immediately.

Krajina Leaders Reportedly To Visit Zagreb

AU2410215694 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 94 p 1

[Report by S. Radulovic: "Mikelic and Babic in Zagreb on 27 October"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—The continuation of the negotiations between Croatia and Krajina, as BORBA has learned from reliable sources, is scheduled for 27 October, in Zagreb. The Krajina negotiating team will be led by Borislav Mikelic, prime minister and head of the Krajina expert group for talks on economic matters, and Foreign Minister Milan Babic. Two months ago, they were hosts to Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the Croatian negotiating team.

The issues of transportation, especially the Zagreb-Belgrade highway, and the normalization of water supplies are expected to be the main topics of discussion.

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Some people are not ruling out the possibility of political relations, on what the Croatian side is insisting, also being "cut into."

The government's session is supposed to resume in Knin today. A regular session of the Krajina assembly is supposed to take place on 25 October. The issue of Krajina-Croatia negotiations could find itself on the agenda of both of these sessions.

Krajina Leader Discusses Current Problems

LD2410181594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1644 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], issued a public statement today, presenting his views on the situation in the country.

In his statement Martic stresses that he will not tolerate the type of conduct that could escalate and that could lower our defense capabilities, "allegedly in the name of democracy," or "undermine our position in the internal and international sphere, thus bringing about chaos in the state."

Reflecting on relations within Krajina, the RSK president stresses that "the necessary degree of political unity which would raise our negotiating position and defense capabilities to a satisfactory level has not been reached."

In this context he stresses that there is a lack of necessary coordination and cooperation. This is a consequence of the fact that "party interests and personal ambitions pursued by some politicians remain dominant over state interests."

Although we have been guided by the ambition to form a national unity government, today we are witnessing inefficient and damaging disputes and polemics, Martic emphasizes. He illustrates this by drawing attention to "the daily reshuffles at every level on the basis of party affiliation rather than of competence."

Saying that state institutions are being misused for party activities and for personal gain, Martic stresses that this "results in increasing internal tensions, promoting dissatisfaction among the people and soldiers, and strengthening the desire for revanchism."

This behavior threatens to destabilize the state and endanger the basic interests of the people which were advocated by everyone during the elections, Martic specifies.

Speaking about relations with the Srpska republic [RS] he once again refuted, he says, "the idea that the RS and its leadership are allegedly working against the interests of Krajina."

On the other hand, Martic stresses, our relations with the home country have never been brought into question, because our lasting orientation is the creation of a united Serb state.

In his lengthy public statement, the RSK president also drew attention to the expected intense political and diplomatic pressure on the people and the leadership of Krajina, designed, he says, to impose political solutions "which would return us to being part of Croatia." As a result of all this the head of the Krajina state vigorously demands that all state institutions and individuals engage themselves to the greatest degree, cooperate, and make their full contribution to overcoming the current situation, through the consistent implementation of their constitutional and legal obligations.

Martic Discusses Krajina's Political Course

LD2510000294 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 24 Oct 94

[From the "Slika na Sliku" program; item taken from Bosnian Serb TV, Pale studio]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mile Martic presented his views on a peaceful solution to Croatia's occupied areas on Pale TV. While waiting for international recognition, he is nevertheless worried about heavy pressures from the same quarter.

[Pale TV presenter] Attention was today drawn to the significance of Serbian unity by Mile Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina. In his address to the people of the westernmost Serbian state he says, among other things:

At the institutional level we have by and large finalized our statehood. What remains to be done is to win the international recognition of the factual state of affairs and reach our fundamental political goals. The president of the westernmost Serbian state, Milan Martic, adds: What has further aggravated the position of the republic of Serb Krajina is surely the breakdown in all communications with the Srpska republic, i.e. the introduction of sanctions against the Srpska republic. President Martic then went on to say the following:

[Begin Martic recording] It is the vital links between the two western Serbian states and their common national goal that made us accept a common political course with the Srpska republic as regards the solutions offered by the world's powers. We will not deviate from this course despite daily manipulations and the attempts at feeding us the theory according to which the Srpska republic and its leadership are allegedly acting against this state's interests. I am in daily contact with these people, so rest assured that they will never do anything that could damage our common political goals. The people in the republic of Serb Krajina—in the coming period we can expect, at the international level, intense political and diplomatic pressures to be brought to bear on the people and the leadership of the republic of Serb Krajina. Their intention is to impose such political solutions on us whereby we would be reincorporated in Croatia.

Your free will and your unambiguous say in who you want to live with and how has been repeated on many

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occasions. There is no such politician among the Serbs who would dare play tricks with the destiny of the Serb people in the republic of Serb Krajina. [end recording]

Mesic Criticizes Tudjman on Federation

AU2410185594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Oct 94

[Report Nada al-Isa report from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] The current attacks by the Croatian media in Zagreb on Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, have only one aim: to topple the Federation and the Washington Agreement. This was stated in Zagreb by Stipe Mesic, (?head of) the Croatian Independent Democrats, especially for the Radio and Television of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Nada al-Isa reports from Zagreb:

[al-Isa] Stipe Mesic said: Those in power in Mostar are those who started the conflict with the Muslims, and they do not want the Federation or an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina. Zagreb, Mesic claims, has not given up the idea of dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina. Tudjman is still not in favor of the Washington Agreement. This is why he is supporting the extremist (?section) of the Croatian Democratic Community in Mostar. Mesic wonders: How can I trust President Tudjman when he says that he wants an integral Bosnia, when his ministers of defense and internal affairs, ministers of the Republic of Croatia, (?walk through) Mostar as if it were Zagreb, without informing the government in Sarajevo about it at all.

The media from so-called (?Herceg-Bosna) report that the Croats cannot lease the port of Ploce to the Muslims, since they claim that the Muslims want it to be extra territory, [words indistinct] not under the sovereignty of Croatia.

For instance, citing a high-ranking but unnamed (?official) of the so-called Herceg-Bosna, VJESNIK writes that the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina is setting unacceptable conditions with regard to the port of Ploce. The port of Ploce, I quote, is solely Croatian, and not federal, the paper writes. The unnamed Herzegovinan official says that is unacceptable for both so-called Herceg-Bosna and the Republic of Croatia.

Stipe Mesic described this as the [word indistinct] of the so-called Herceg-Bosna as a parastate with Zagreb's blessing [words indistinct] those from Mostar are now attacking Prime Minister Silajdzic, because they do not like Izetbegovic, Silajdzic, the Washington Agreement, or the Federation. In the statement for the Radio and Television of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Stipe Mesic stressed in particular that [word indistinct] from so-called Herceg-Bosna, which, according to the Washington Agreement, does not exist. However, it unfortunately does exist in the heads of those in Zagreb and Mostar who want neither the Federation nor cohabitation with the Bosniaks. And they have never wanted an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina anyhow.

New Political Party Elects Tripalo Chairman

LD2310115194 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 22 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Action of Social Democrats of Croatia [Akcija Socijaldemokrata Hrvatske] is a new party on the Croatian political scene. Ante Miko Tripalo was unanimously elected chairman at the party's founding assembly in Zagreb today.

The program principles of the new party are: democratic free and European Croatia, respect of the antifascist struggle, peaceful reintegration of UN Protected Areas, and an integrated Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Action of Social Democrats of Croatia urges respect of the Serb rights in Croatia and their autonomy in line with European standards. They also urge local and regional self-administration, provided this does not threaten Croatia's integrity. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Welcomes 'More Objective' French Policy

LD2410151894 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, today received Alain Lamassoure, French minister of European affairs, and French Ambassador to Croatia Jean-Marie Chenu, with their associates.

I have come to see what the European Union and France can do to help Croatia establish peace and succeed in its economic reforms, Lamassoure said, adding that the position of France was not pro-Serb.

France and the European Union, whose chairmanship will be taken over by France on 1 January, wish to expand their partnership with Croatia. France is in favor of enabling Croatia to enjoy all the benefits of the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program, and wishes to prepare an agreement on cooperation with special emphasis on the expansion of economic cooperation, Lamassoure said. He added that France was completely open to cooperation between Croatia and the European Union.

President Tudjman said that Croatia attached great importance to the development of good relations with France, whose political philosophy, art, and literature are very well-known in Croatia and have a profound influence on the Croatian people. We become very upset when we learn that certain unofficial French circles are displaying ignorance about these links; lately however, French policy has become much more objective, President Tudjman said, describing as totally unacceptable the thesis expounded by certain domestic and foreign media that Croatia should make certain territorial concessions.

The president asked for France's support in the UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly, especially regarding the reintegration of the occupied territories.

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They particularly discussed the return of refugees to the occupied areas of Croatia. Lamassoure said that France supported the refugees' right to return, recognized Croatia's territorial integrity, and urged mutual recognition between Croatia and Serbia.

They also spoke about possibilities for the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. France proposed to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to hold a joint meeting with Presidents Milosevic and Izetbegovic. President Tudjman is ready to take part in such a meeting, provided it is prepared thoroughly and sponsored by the main world players—the United State, Russia, Germany, Great Britain, and France, if the meeting contributes to the normalization of the Croatian-Serbian relations, leads to the recognition of the Republic of Croatia by Serbia within its internationally recognized borders, and if it is devoted to the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In that case the meeting should also be attended by representatives of all three Bosnia-Herzegovina nations, President Tudjman added. Lamassoure said Karadzic might take part in the meeting only if he accepted the Contact Group plan.

They also discussed the implementation of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its confederation with Croatia. President Tudjman welcomed French support for cooperation between the European Union and Croatia.

The talks were also attended by Hrvoje Sarinic, head of the president's office, Branko Salaj, ambassador of the Republic of Croatia in Paris, the president's foreign policy adviser Zeljko Matic, and others.

Valentic, Silajdzic Leave for Malaysia Visit

LD2410230194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] A mixed Croatia-Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation, headed by Prime Ministers Nikica Valentic and Haris Silajdzic, has left for an official visit to Malaysia. On their way back the two prime ministers and their aides will visit Pakistan and Iran. Tonight, on the eve of their departure, the two prime ministers talked to the press at Zagreb airport. Let us hear Andjelko Perincic's report:

[Perincic] By embarking on a joint visit to Kuala Lumpur, and later to Islamabad and Tehran, the two neighboring friendly countries, linked by numerous common problems and interests, will demonstrate their intention to tackle these interests together within the international community. In the course of their Asian tour they will certainly talk about the crisis in the southeastern region and bilateral and particularly economic relations between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina on the one hand, and the countries which the prime ministers of the two countries will tour together, on the other hand. This is what Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic said in his statement:

[Begin Valentic recording] Malaysia is one of the world's most developed countries. In many respects it can be our role model, particularly as regards its growth in production, its industrial development. It is with a great deal of satisfaction that I am visiting Malaysia.

On our way back we will stop off in Pakistan and Iran where we also have exceptional economic interests, especially in Iran, where we have signed a contract for the building of eight ships to the tune of $220 million. My principal task there is to finalize the financial package for this deal. It is a very significant contract for Croatia's shipbuilding industry. All these countries want to help Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina in the economic sphere, too.

It is of particular importance that we are going to set up a joint consortium of companies from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are going to take the same approach not just to these three countries but to many other Muslim countries and elsewhere in the Third World. I expect this to bring about major results because both Croatian and Bosnian companies can carry out almost any project in the sphere of machinery, dam-building, and large industrial complexes. [end recording]

[Perincic] Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic also spoke to reporters:

[begin Silajdzic recording] This is above all an opportunity for us to advance our relations. I am genuinely glad that it is precisely at this moment that this visit is taking place together with Prime Minister Valentic. Bosnia and Croatia can achieve a great deal together. And we are going to prove this. It is also a fact that we are embarking on this visit at the invitation of Malaysia's Prime Minister Mahathir. This distant country, just like other countries, is seriously interested in doing business with us, but on a joint basis.

I believe that we can achieve a great deal and that we will be representing in the best possible way the potentials of both the republic and the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as the Republic of Croatia. I especially believe that this visit is taking place at the right time, at a stage when the overall relations between the Bosniaks and Croats are about to gain momentum. [end recording]

Article Examines Navy, Air Force Exercise

AU2410125394 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 13 Oct 94 p 3

[Report by F. Plancic: "Air Force and Navy Displayed Their Power"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We have managed to do something for which greater and better equipped navies of the world could envy us. This was more than good preparation for carrying out part of the national task of providing security at sea and on the coast." This was the comment on the successful exercise "Poseidon '94" of General of the Army Janko Bobetko, chief of staff of the

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Croatian Army, for VECERNJI LIST, with a characteristic expression of content on his face.

Namely, the domestic and international public was yesterday presented with the final part of the exercise, with the spectacular sinking of two decomissioned ships on the south side of the island of Dugi Otok in the Zadar area.

The state and military officials, as well as the corps of military attaches accredited in Croatia, observed the exercise from the grandstand, elevated by some hundred meters on the cliffs of the island of Dugi Otok. The seat of honor was occupied by Prime Minister Nikica Valentic, who was accompanied by Defense Minister Gojko Susak, his deputy Josip Juras, Chief of Staff Bobetko, Admiral Sveto Letica-Barba, and General Imra Agotic. The latter two, as commanders of the Navy and Air Force, were at a special test. Namely, the exercise was carried out by the Navy and the Air Force together, showing for the first time the new weapons and the high degree of readiness of both the men and technology.

Two Times a Hundred and Five Seconds

The test for Admiral Letica and the entire navy lasted two times 105 seconds. This is the time that was necessary for the Kresimir and Sibenik gunboats to fire one missile each and hit the targets that were two miles away from the observers.

Gunboat Kresimir, under the command of Lieutenant Commander [porucnik bojnog broda] Tonci Vidan, launched the first missile at the former torpedo-boat 219, which was simply slice in half. The missile landed from the distance of 16.5 miles and was a direct hit—first there was a flash, then a column of smoke, and then we heard the sound of the explosion of the missile warhead with 85 kilograms of explosive. Loud applause from the grandstand interrupted the voice of the announcer, Commander Ivan Supic, who announced another 105 seconds of high suspense.

Gunboat Sibenik, only recently equipped with the RBS-15B missile system, launched a missile at another target, a decomissioned landing tank carrier and mine-laying vessel. It was another direct hit, there was more applause, and those present shouted: "Both of them, both of them!" It is a pity that Lieutenant Commander [porucnik bojnog broda] Predrag Stipanovic, commander of Sibenik, could not hear it.

Two Golden Hits

After these two hits, which will be recorded in the history of the Croatian Navy in gold letters, there was silence brimming with more suspense. The announcer announced missile launching at the remaining targets from the MiG-21. Two such planes inaudibly came above the targets and then hit them by large-caliber unguided missiles, while Kresimir and Sibenik came within a few kilometers' reach of the "disorganized enemy system" to finish it off with the 57-mm caliber prow guns.

After all this, the sea surface calmed, covering the remains of the Yugoslav Navy ships at a depth of some 80 meters.

This article is merely a description of the sequence of events, and does not delve into the depths of the importance of this exercise. General Bobetko emphasized this importance in his introductory speech, saying that this exercise showed the qualification of the Croatian Navy and the Croatian Air Force to act independently, in cooperation with each other, or as support to the land forces in this sensitive Zadar-Knin area.

The chief of staff emphasized that the main aim was to check the Croatian Navy and the Air Force "from top to bottom" through this complex exercise. The time, place, and content of the exercise were determined in accordance with these and the special aims. The choice of location was not at all a coincidence, said General Bobetko, remarking that this archipelago is the link between the Croatian south and north, while the content of the exercise was a kind of world premiere.

For Everyone To Know

For the first time the RBS-15B antiship missile system, produced in Sweden and enhanced by Croatian technological expertise, was tested before the international expert community and the general public. The six foreign military attaches therefore observed the missile launching and the effect on the targets with particular attention.

This is important to point out because the warship and aircraft crews were carrying out such an exercise for the first time, with only training and learning, the ideal conditions, and self-confidence in their capabilities on their side.

The fear of the constant possibility of a missile missing the target has been completely eliminated through this exercise, or at least reduced to a realistic 1-percent chance.

General Bobetko said: "We did it...!" Everyone should know this, especially those who are not glad about our success.

Governor of National Bank Discusses Reserves

AU2410104494 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13 Oct 94 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Currency Reserves Are Insufficient"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Speaking about the National Bank activities, that is, last year's budget and the financial plan of the National Bank of Croatia for this year, Dr. Pero Jurkovic, governor of the National Bank of Croatia, said that, in the economic sense, last year was exceptionally difficult. The fall in production was very prominent, and, on the other hand, inflation was very high, which led to

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imbalances in the economy, and demanded more decisive action, which was conducted through the implementation of the stabilization program.

According to Jurkovic, a difference should be made between the period until early October last year and the period after that. The rates of inflation during the first period were about 28 percent per month, and with the introduction of the government program they were lowered, first to 1.4 percent, and then to 0.3 percent, according to the retail price index. He emphasized that monetary policy was not the main cause of inflation, reminding those present that this was substantiated by the fact that the rates of increase of monetary aggregates were lower than the price increases.

Viewing monetary policy in the last year and in the economic life of the first nine months of the same year, the governor said that important things happened, which were not merely an accompaniment to monetary aggregates. First, the instruments of monetary policy were improved, and market instruments for monetary regulation were introduced, while most of the money-creating transactions were carried out through the foreign currency market. He also recalled that many new laws were also passed, which constitute the fundamental infrastructure of the financial system.

Currency Reserves: $1.16 Billion

For instance, the Foreign Exchange Operations Act introduced convertibility of the domestic currency. Jurkovic also remarked that we accepted the article of the Agreement on the IMF that in fact guarantees internal convertibility, that is, convertibility for all internal transactions.

Dr. Jurkovic also said that during last year many other steps had been taken that were the introduction to stabilization, these being primarily the forming of currency reserves, which are today about $1.16 billion, and are at the level of the two and a half month's import coverage.

However, if we take into account certain deferred payments abroad, the currency reserves are still insufficient and need to be increased further. The governor added that during the past year there was a $278 million surplus in the balance of payments, and that all this year's trends show that the surplus will be even greater.

He added that when the stabilization program was implemented, we used all the breaks we had at our disposal for conducting the monetary policy, which yielded quick results. If we had not acted that way, there would have been an even more dramatic decrease in production and the standard of living as a consequence of overall chaos in the financial sphere.

Stating that during the first stage of the stabilization program the monetary policy was one of the measures that played the key role in curbing the inflation and in the first stage of the stabilization program, Governor Jurkovic said that it remains an important element, even as far as reviving production is concerned. In the first stage of the government's stabilization program the aim was to lower inflation, in the second it was to make moves in restructuring, and in the third to create the conditions for fast economic growth.

The positions in the letter of intent coordinated with the IMF were coordinated in this direction, and are evident in the further strict control of monetary aggregates, primarily the net domestic assets in the banking sector, and in the limited approval of loans to the state and the large beneficiaries facing restructuring.

The aim is to use these monetary resources to prevent the negative influence of restriction on the growth and restructuring, and to avoid the displacement effect and its negative influence on interest rate trends. He added that this orientation of monetary policy at the same time demands even stricter financial discipline, a more efficient control of the banking system, and rapid development of the financial market.

No Loans at All Costs

In his short review of current monetary policy, Dr. Jurkovic described several of the problems he is encountering, which are primarily the control of the money supply, the level of the cash rate of the kuna, and the level of interest rates.

"There is a view that the rate of the kuna is low, that it has been overvalued, and that it endangers exports. However, I think that although the kuna is overvalued to a certain extent, the solution is not devaluation, but lowering the tax pressure, lowering the input price, changing the relative relation between the direct and indirect taxes in the overall public revenue, and rationalization in business and encouraging a healthy foreign currency demand," Jurkovic said.

Speaking about interest rates, he established that they are indeed high and hardly acceptable to investors. He added that the high interest rates are one of the obstacles to the more rapid dynamization of the economy, and that while there have been attempts to resolve this through administrative measures, the only way to achieve something was to resolve all the issues and remove the obstacles that cause such high interest rates.

As far as supply is concerned, it is necessary to restructure the banking system, as most of the banks cannot cover with a very small part of the assets all the expenses on the basis of resources, and the phenomenon of loans being taken at all costs must be stopped.

Governor Jurkovic finally remarked that the National Bank was losing its fiscal functions, which is right, and that the issue profit was increasingly lower, which is good, despite the fact that it is at the expense of the budget cut.

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Campaign for Second Round of Elections Begins

LD2410145594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1144 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—The political campaign in the second round of parliamentary elections in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia has begun, but it is not yet known whether the biggest opposition parties will boycott the forthcoming election which is scheduled for 30 October.

TANJUG learned that the two biggest opposition parties, VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity] and the Democratic Party are to hold a joint news conference this afternoon when they are expected finally to announce what their intentions are at present. These two parties claim that the first round of elections was "irregular, and that the results are the most obvious forgery by the authorities."

An ultimatum set by the opposition parties expired at 1900 yesterday with none of the demands having been fulfilled—the first round of presidential and parliamentary elections has not been annulled, the government has not been dissolved, and the State Electoral Commission has not resigned.

The electoral campaign started yesterday with a big meeting organized by the ruling three-member Alliance for Macedonia coalition, whose candidate Kiro Gligorov won a convincing victory over his only rival, VMRO-DPMNE candidate Ljubisa Georgijevski, on 16 October.

To a tumultuous ovation Gligorov called on the people to vote in the second round of parliamentary elections en masse and again stressed that he will be the president "of all citizens, irrespective of their party, religious, or national affiliation."

The Alliance for Macedonia has begun the second round of elections with the best chances, because its candidates scored best in around 80 electoral units, although they did not manage to win parliamentary seats in the first round.

Of the 10 deputies who have won in the first round of elections, eight of them come from the Alliance for Macedonia, while the other two are deputies of the ethnic-Albanian Party of Democratic Prosperity.

Main Opposition Party To Boycott Elections

LD2410171194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1603 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—The largest opposition party is to boycott the second round of the parliamentary elections in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], it was announced today at a news conference in Skopje.

Ljupco Georgievski, leader of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity [VMRO-DPMNE], repeated the stance of this largest opposition party that the "first round of the presidential and parliamentary elections is a state fraud" and that it will thus "not be party to deceiving the nation."

The first round of the parliamentary and presidential elections was held on 16 October.

VMRO-DPMNE, which has 38 of the 120 seats in the current assembly, says that Kiro Gligorov failed to obtain a sufficient number of votes in order to be able, after the first round of the elections, to be legally proclaimed as the new head of state.

Petar Gosev, leader of the Democratic Party [DP], said that not one of the numerous proofs of his party of the "large-scale and crude irregularities in the simultaneous presidential and parliamentary elections" has been taken into consideration. He stressed that the DP has no right to take part in the electoral farce, despite the assurances of "some foreign observers" that in the second round all the deficiencies of the electoral process will be removed.

The two largest opposition parties, which will be joined by several smaller nationalist parties, have called on their supporters to turn out on the main squares of towns where a symbolic "protest vote against the new elections" will be organized.

The second round of the elections for 110 of the 120 deputies in the assembly will be held on 30 October. So far the ruling coalition—the Alliance for Macedonia—has secured eight seats in parliament and the Albanian Party of Democratic Prosperity has secured two.

In the vast majority of the remaining constituencies, candidates for the Alliance for Macedonia have the greatest chances of victory, observers estimate.

The VMRO-DPMNE and DP boycott means that more than 150 opposition candidates—out of a total of 389 candidates—will be withdrawing from the second round.

Paper Gives Figures on 2d-Round Candidates

AU2410172594 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 24 Oct 94 pp 1,2

[Report by "S.V." and "Z.P.": "64 Independent Candidates for the Second Round"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In seven days from now, when the second round of the parliamentary elections takes place, 389 candidates will be competing for 110 seats in parliament. The Alliance for Macedonia has the best chances because, in addition to the seven seats that they have already won, it will be fielding an additional 86 candidates. Its advantage is even greater because as many as 74 of its candidates will be going into the second round leading in their constituencies. It has emerged that the Alliance for Macedonia received 310,000 votes in the

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first round, or 31 to 32 percent of all the votes cast. This percentage has not been made official yet, because in the documents of the State Electoral Commission do not contain data on the total number of voters that participated in the elections. This figure has simply been reached from official information on the results of the presidential elections, which revealed that 1,058,310 people voted, or 77.76 percent of the total number of registered voters. Other important data about the results of the elections are that 79.63 percent of the total number of candidates have either won their seats in parliament or are going into the second round.

The VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] is in second place with 14 percent of the vote, or 141,000 votes. This party will take 84 candidates, 71.19 percent of the total, through to the second round. It is characteristic of the VMRO-DPMNE that it was in first place in only five constituencies after the first round (in constituency No. 30 in Kicevo, No. 58 in Prilep, No. 70 in Strumica, No. 75 in Tetovo, and No. 92 in Gazi Baba [in Skopje]), while it was in second place in 41 constituencies, third in 29, and fourth in six.

In fourth place in terms of the total of votes, but in second according to the first-round placements is the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity], which indicates its high concentration of voters. Although it received only about 80,000 votes (or 8 percent), the PDP has already won two seats in parliament—party leader Abdurahman Aliti and Naser Ziberi, and is in first place in eight more constituencies. If we add the annulment of the elections in some wards of constituencies Nos. 76 and 93, where PDP candidates are in the lead, this party is favorite to win 10 more seats in parliament. The number of PDP candidates for the second round is 31, or 55.36 percent of the original total.

The first-past-the-post election model has had the most negative impact on the Democratic Party [DP], because it received only about 110,000 votes in the first round, which puts it in third place according to this criterion. But the placement results show a completely different situation—the DP is not in first place anywhere, it is in second place in only 24 constituencies, third in 32, fourth in 10, and fifth in two, making a total of 68 DP candidates to enter the second round, or 59.13 percent of the original total. This party can think in terms of only four of its candidates, who are near to being in first place, while the [illegible]re lagging behind with just over 1,000 votes.

Of the 284 independent candidates, 64 will go through to the second round, with five in first place, 12 in second, 13 in third, and 15 in fourth. After the first round, it is striking that the political representatives of the Turkish and Serbian nationalities are entering the second round with great chances of having seats in parliament. Namely, two candidates out of the four proposed by the Democratic Party of Turks [DPT] are entering the second round in first place, and Dragisa Miletic, the leader of the Democratic Party of Serbs, is in the lead in constituency No. 120. The MAAK [Movement for All-Macedonian Action] has four candidates through to the second round, and the PCERM [Party for the Full Emancipation of Romanies of Macedonia], the SDA [Party of Democratic Action]-Islamic Road, the DPM [Democratic Party of Macedonia] each have three, while the VMRO-DP [-Democratic Party], the VMRO-MNDS [-Macedonian National Democratic Alliance], the DC [Democratic Alliance]-Agrarian Party, the SDPM [Social Democratic Movement of Macedonia], and the coalitions of DPT-SDA-Islamic Road, the SP [Socialist Party]-SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia]-LP [Liberal Party], and the SDSM-SP have one candidate each.

There were as many as seven LP candidates through to the second round; however, the party's election headquarters informed us yesterday that the State Electoral Commission had made a mistake, and there are now only two. The first round has not been completed yet in 13 wards in six constituencies (No's. 46, 63, 76, 93, 108, and 109) where irregularities in the elections were identified.

These data are based on the State Electoral Commission's statements. Nevertheless, the definitive position of the parties will greatly depend on the final decision of the VMRO-DPMNE and the DP, which have announced a possible boycott of the second round of the elections.

Alliance for Macedonia Holds 2d-Round Rally

AU2410181594 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 24 Oct 94 p 5

[Report by "V.V.": "The Voters Voted Against Nationalism]

[FBIS Translated Text] With their slogan "For Peace and Dignity," the Alliance for Macedonia held a meeting yesterday in the Macedonian Theater, launching its campaign for the second round of the elections.

President of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM] Kiro Gligorov, the Alliance's presidential candidate, expressed his gratitude to the voters, stressing that their support has been of great significance in deciding in favor of an independent Macedonian state, the maintenance of peace, coexistence, and ethnic understanding. He called upon the voters to participate in the second round, because the essence of democracy is to have the people decide about the parliament and government that it wants.

Blagoj Handjiski, the head of the election headquarters of the Alliance for Macedonia, Branko Crvenkovski, leader of the Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia, Liberal Party leader Stojan Andov, Socialist Party of

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Macedonia leader Kiro Popovski, as well as a number of other parliamentary candidates had addressed the audience before that.

In his speech, Branko Crvenkovski emphasized that "the two opposed policies in Macedonia offer two different futures. However, the people have voted for coexistence, equal distance [with the country's neighbors], a liberal and open economy, privatization, a rule-of-law state, independence, and a European future. On 16 October, Macedonia demonstrated itself to be strong enough to win the most important battle—to defeat the nationalism and populism within its own ranks," he said. In calling on citizens to vote in the elections, he characterized the actions of the opposition as having the sole aim of demoralizing the electorate.

In stressing that Macedonia is on course to defeat extreme nationalism by peaceful means, Stojan Andov indicated that "this will mean a new era for the region and that cooperation is at the root of everything. However, the decision is up to the voters, and we believe that they will vote for an effective parliament and government."

Kiro Popovski stressed that there is no place in Macedonia for Romanian scenarios, or for traps that will lead to a new Bucharest Agreement, but only for a parliamentary democracy.

Albanian Parties Form 2d-Round Election Coalition

AU2410181494 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 24 Oct 94 p 4

[FBIS Translated Text] According to information released by the MAKFAX Agency, the political parties of the Albanian minority will jointly run in the second round of the parliamentary elections in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM]. Their aim is to win "as many seats in parliament as possible," and the agreement has been reached among the leaders of the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity], the NDP [People's Democratic Party], as well as the radical wing of the PDP [Taci's breakaway faction].

Andov Rejects VMRO-DPMNE, DP Demands

AU2410180594 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 24 Oct 94 p 5

[Unattributed report: "The Ultimatum Is Rejected"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Stojan Andov, the chairman of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM], has replied to the leaders of the two largest opposition parties, Ljupco Georgievski of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] and Petar Gosev of the DP [Democratic Party], regarding their ultimatum as presented in the memorandum issued at last week's protest rally. Chairman Andov did this before the expiry of the deadline (at 1900 on Saturday). He dealt with all the demands one by one and rejected them all. The demands were as follows: To declare the elections null and void, to secure all the conditions necessary for legal and fair elections, to dismiss the government and replace it with a professional one, to abolish the State Electoral Commission, and to separate the parliamentary from the presidential elections.

1. In relation to the first demand, Andov emphasized: "This demand is contrary to the constitutional role of the Macedonian Assembly as an executive body. Namely, the Macedonian Constitution confirms that the parliamentary and presidential elections represent the active right of the citizens. The laws guarantee the fulfillment of this right through the jurisdiction and duties of the state electoral bodies, and this right is protected by the administration. Any possible interference of the Assembly in the electoral procedures and processes would represent a violation of the constitutional principles on the division of jurisdictions. That is why we are informing you that I do not intend to take any measures that will lead to discord between the Assembly and such important and basic constitutional principles."

2. In his reply on the second demand to provide all the conditions necessary for legal and fair elections, after recalling that in 1993 the Macedonian Assembly had required the government to prepare proposals for legal reforms to the electoral system, which were later reviewed by top experts, Andov said: "On this basis, the Government of the Republic of Macedonia prepared a final draft law and presented it to the Assembly for discussion and a vote. This draft law could have secured a higher degree of fairness and democracy in the elections, but it was not passed by a majority of 61 votes. However, even the present regulations are quite good for the implementation of fair and democratic elections and that is why I have decided to schedule the elections and I have proposed that the parties participating sign a declaration on democratic and fair elections. If the Assembly started an initiative on securing conditions for legal and fair elections today, the result would be that the Assembly would be violating the Constitution and the laws that determine the rights and duties of the state electoral bodies and of the administrative authorities. I shall not initiate such an activity."

3. Concerning the demand for the dismissal of the government and the formation of a professional government that would implement "regular elections," Andov replied: "According to the Constitution, the government can be dismissed at any time and the chairman is the only person who can make such a decision. According to the Constitution, he can dismiss it only on one ground—if it has received a vote of no confidence from parliament. Since this is not the case, the possible dismissal of the government is not within the competence of the Assembly and I, as its chairman, am not authorized to

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effect this and do not intend to take any such measure. In any case, I remind you that the demand for the formation of a professional government is incompatible with the Constitution."

4. Concerning the demand for the resignation of the State Electoral Commission, Andov stated that the Commission has not submitted its resignation to the Macedonian Assembly, and therefore he is not authorized to take any such measures.

5. The fifth demand related to the separation of the presidential from the parliamentary elections. Andov refused this demand, arguing that these elections have been defined by constitutional regulations and the law, as well as by the electoral laws. "In conformity with all these acts, I signed the decision to elect the president of the republic and the members of the Macedonian Assembly. I can inform you that nobody has legally challenged my decisions so far."

DP Accuses Authorities of Staging 'Coup d'Etat'

AU2410180294 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 24 Oct 94 p 2

[Statement issued by the DP; place and date not given: "We Shall Continue Our Struggle for a Civil Society"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the rejection of the request of the largest opposition parties to have the first election round declared null and void because of "evident forgeries," the Democratic Party [DP] is continuing the struggle for a democratic and civil society. At today's joint news conference, the DP will be informing the public about its further actions. Within the framework of these, among other things, it will be continuing to address the citizens through direct contacts. The DP announces that it will further express its peaceful protest through various forms and that it will persist with this.

However, in the DP's opinion, Interior Minister Frckovski's announcement that the peaceful rally, the largest ever held in Macedonia, was nothing more than an "deflated balloon" speaks for itself that this minister, as well as those that support him, were disappointed because the armed police, as well as, amazingly, also a part of the Army, which were fully prepared, had no opportunity to shoot at their own people. If the minister and all the others around him are sorry about that, the DP announces that it will constantly disappoint them. These announcements are clearly solving the "dilemma" about the real ones who want a bloody conflict in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM]: between the minister and his mentors and all those that cannot accept the silent coup d'etat in Macedonia that has been staged by rigging the elections to establish an illegitimate and illegal power.

Georgievski: Gligorov Aims To Unite With FRY

AU2410162594 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 18 Oct 94 p 12

[Interview with Ljubisa Georgievski, leader of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity, VMRO-DPMNE, and presidential candidate, by Albena Shkodrova; place and date not given: "Kiro Gligorov Does Not Distinguish Between Friends and Foes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Shkodrova] Could you comment on Kiro Gligorov's refusal to participate in a television debate with you?

[Georgievski] I cannot comment without offending him, because this was an act of dereliction of duty that contradicted all moral laws. This was a horrible step, and if he wins, it will be the first victory in history achieved through dereliction of duty.

[Shkodrova] Do you think that you have benefited from his refusal?

[Georgievski] No. I rather think that his dereliction of duty will hurt me. However, my entire experience teaches me that no one could evoke sympathy among the voters by running away. I think that the voters will prove this to him.

I myself am dissatisfied with the affair, because I wanted to end my election campaign with the television debate. This is so because Gligorov started from "100," while I began from "zero." He is a cult personality, while I am a simple citizen. I have devoted my entire election campaign to destroying his cult, and I hoped to complete this with the television debate. However, I was not able to complete my campaign. I think that this is precisely what he wanted.

[Shkodrova] What did you want to say to him?

[Georgievski] Many things would have been clarified in our debate. First of all, the audience would have had the chance to compare our intellectual, moral, and physical abilities. They could have heard the arguments of our programs. I could have destroyed his cult. I could have publicized several facts that are not known. For example, when he was elected president, he took the old Yugoslav oath—he even did not bother to change it. In other words, he is consistent in his policy to return our state to Yugoslavia. This, for example, is kept secret. It is interesting how he would have reacted if I had been able to say this on television.

The brief time that I had was my greatest problem. Therefore I tried to achieve greatest intensity in presenting my arguments. There was yet another thing: The whole nation was looking forward to our television debate. He prevented it, and I was obviously the one who was cheated.

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[Shkodrova] The authorities succeeded in blocking through administrative means some of your rivals for the post of president. How do you explain that you were not also eliminated?

[Georgievski] The government, the police system, and the mass media really did everything possible to clear the way for Kiro Gligorov. Now we will see what the elections will produce.

They could not eliminate me because I was the only candidate who succeeded in obtaining the necessary documents. Everyone knows for example that for the last 10 years Kiro Gligorov has not lived in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM]. According to the Election Bill this is a mandatory prerequisite for anyone to be a candidate for head of state. However, for him it is no problem to produce the necessary documents.

They could not eliminate me through administrative means, but I think that they are trying all other methods.

[Shkodrova] Were there any real formal reasons for eliminating the other candidates?

[Georgievski] Yes, but you know that if the formal aspect is invoked, lawyers can find millions of faults. Nevertheless, I do not think that those candidates should have been eliminated. Our state, which purports to be a democratic one, should long ago have found a way to provide the forms and eliminate the obstacles. I do not think that this was dignified.

It would be a pity if Kiro Gligorov wins, because Macedonia will disintegrate.

[Shkodrova] Do you think that this could really happen?

[Georgievski] This is certain if the Albanians are granted the status of a nation. Obviously, it is precisely this that must be promised to them in order to buy their votes.

[Shkodrova] Where there any violations of the pre-election "time for deliberation?"

[Georgievski] Oh, hundreds of them, and always to our detriment, because the press favors Kiro Gligorov! There was no time for deliberation.

[Shkodrova] One of the basic accusations of the "independent" press against you was that you are conducting a "pro-Bulgarian" policy. Was this justified?

[Georgievski] There is no reason for accusing me of anything in the sphere of politics, because I have only just entered this sphere.

Actually, the strategy against me changed every two or three days. Sometimes they describe me as a Serbophile, and sometimes as a Bulgarophile.

This is nonsense. For them it is a mortal sin that I staged a play in Bulgaria and first opposed the "Chinese Wall" between Bulgaria and the FYROM, erected for 50 years by the Serbo-communists.

It was a great insult for them that I said upon my return from Bulgaria that the Bulgarian and Macedonian languages are very close. But every linguist will confirm this.

One should respect the fact that Bulgaria did not close its border with Macedonia because at the present moment this would have been an infarct for Macedonia. This is a clear fact. Let them explain what they would do if Bulgaria were to impose an embargo against Macedonia.

My words are the reaction of a normal and simple person. One of our neighbors slaps Kiro Gligorov, while the other offers him a towel and takes him to hospital. Yet he treats them in the same manner.

The same applies to his attitude to the Macedonians. He thinks that he is a god who does not have to explain anything to anyone.

[Shkodrova] The basic explanation of the equal distance policy is that any other policy would result in a clash in the Balkans at the expense of Macedonia. How do you assess this argument?

[Georgievski] It is illogical. According to the definition of Karl Schmidt, politics is the clear distinction between friends and foes. This formula is accepted throughout the world as the foundation of political science; however, Kiro Gligorov is color-blind and cannot distinguish between friends and foes.

He thinks that he could deceive all the people all the time. This is impossible. You can deceive some of the people all the time or all the people some of the time, but not all the people all the time. His policy is totally unviable and his lies will become obvious in a few years. Our children will be those who will suffer most.

[Shkodrova] Certainly, you understand that Bulgarian politicians will rejoice if you win the presidential elections....

[Georgievski] I do not think about who will rejoice and who will not, because those are psychological categories, which have no place in politics. At the state level, politics is conducted through a strict analysis of state interests.

[Shkodrova] Do you think that the "language dispute" between the two countries has been artificially created by the Macedonian Government?

[Georgievski] The Macedonian language, as it exists now, is a real historical fact and its negation would produce a response in Macedonia. From the very beginning, Bulgaria has conducted a wise policy toward Macedonia. However, if Bulgaria abandons this policy, as would certainly happen if the leftist forces took power in our country, your country will lose the sympathy that it has developed in Macedonia.

Thus, one should recognize the existing reality and leave history to the historians. I am sure that the problem could be eliminated in this manner. It would not be a

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tragedy if this did not happen, provided that our two countries demonstrate their interest in economic and cultural cooperation.

Socialist Party Leader Discusses Program

AU2410144394 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Oct 94 p 7

[Interview with Kiro Popovski, chairman of Socialist Party of Macedonia, by Ivan Ilkov and Detelin Vulkov; place and date not given: "Alliance for Macedonia Coalition Won Elections With the Motto '...Secure'"]

[DUMA] Mr. Popovski, has the convincing success in the presidential elections and the interim results of the parliamentary elections proved the effectiveness of the coalition formed between the Social Democrats, Liberals, and Socialists?

[Popovski] Certainly, because our program was aimed at the realities in our republic's life. Our election campaign motto consisted of only one word: "Secure," which encompasses the tranquillity and economic and social prosperity that the people want in this difficult period for our state. We support mutual respect between the different ethnic groups in the republic. Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM] must not be torn apart by conflicts caused by nationality issues and all of us citizens should enjoy full rights and security.

[DUMA] In the future, will you rely on other parties and organization joining the Alliance for Macedonia coalition?

[Popovski] We are an open coalition, and this will continue after the elections. Everyone whom we regard as supporting democratic development is welcome to join us, to work together for Macedonia's future.

[DUMA] What is your opinion as a party and former state leader: Can your coalition's experience also be applied in other Balkan countries and Bulgaria in particular, which is about to have parliamentary elections?

[Popovski] By nature I do not like offering advice, especially as we are neighboring sovereign states. However, as chairman of the Socialist Party of Macedonia [SPM] I will say in the name of democracy that, in the present economic and political situation in the Balkans and in the present troubled times, an alliance of Social Democrats, Socialists, Liberals, and other left-wing forces will win the votes of large social groups that want a coalition of left-wing parties and organizations to be formed. In Bulgaria, it is a question of your leaders and parties with similar programs and modes of action deciding to consolidate. What the parties share in common can provide the basis for forming a coalition under one name or another in every state in the Balkans.

[DUMA] What are the main points in your party's program?

[Popovski] The SPM is republican in orientation, with a democratic socialist alignment, and stakes its future on the principles of economic and political freedom. For the Macedonian Socialists, all people are equal and all nations have equal rights. We strongly support a market economy as a real foundation for developing modern forces of production and creating identical conditions for all forms of property to compete. We advocate the free movement of goods, capital, manpower, and cultural values.

[DUMA] These principles are also embodied in the new program of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. What do you think about future cooperation between the SPM and BSP?

[Popovski] Some time ago we invited the BSP Supreme Council to have a first meeting with us in Skopje, and we received an acceptance in principle. However, then the election campaign opened in our republic and we concentrated our efforts on that. I hear that Bulgaria will also hold elections in December, and until then the Socialists and the BSP leadership will have many commitments. Accordingly, in my own name and on the SPM's behalf, I suggest to Zhan Videnov and the members of the Supreme Council that we should hold this meeting early next year. This is a provisional invitation forwarded through the DUMA newspaper, and we will agree on an official meeting later.

Athens Relaxes Border Blockade, Permits Travel

AU2410195594 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 24 Oct 94 p 2

[Report by K. Janasliev: "Traffic Has Been Revived But Only Unilaterally"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Greek relaxation of tension on the Greek border during the elections in the two countries showed up in the increased traffic as a result of the border barrier being raised at the Evzoni border crossing. But it was mostly intended to allow Greek citizens to travel to our country, which has not been the case in the past few months. Greek citizens had been stopped at the border, openly threatened, and warned by the Greek border authorities not to travel to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM]. It seems that the Greek police have now yielded to pressure from those of their citizens who want to travel to our country.

This is exactly what happened last weekend near Evzoni, when a large amount of traffic was noted, consisting principally of our neighbor's citizens. Most of them were tradesmen or truck drivers, but there were also tourists, who are now visiting Macedonia more frequently. Although their numbers cannot be compared to the previous number of crossings at the Greek border, it still indicates that there are some changes in the border traffic as far as Greek travellers are concerned.

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As far as our travellers are concerned, only occasionally are any Macedonian citizens granted entry into Greece with a visa issued on a separate piece of paper. Our citizens are still not allowed to go to Greece, and the rare ones who succeed in obtaining a visa at the actual border have to wait a very long time for it. However, in conditions of a freeze on border traffic, the fact that Greek immigration officials no longer show revulsion when presented with a Macedonian passport, but simply respond: "You cannot use this passport yet!" represents a sign that there is some kind of relaxation going on. Particularly when we think that hitherto our citizens feared maltreatment if they so much as mentioned the Republic of Macedonia at the Greek border.

On the other hand, the Greek authorities are thinking of extending the list of humanitarian aid sent by other countries to Macedonia. After the possibility of 7,500 metric tonnes of U.S. corn being shipped via the port of Salonika was announced, the representatives of the Greek railroads wanted to know if our railroads have the special freight cars used for transporting corn and how they are registered. It seems that the Greek railroads will decide to use their own freight cars if the transportation of corn goes via Gevgelija-Idomeni in order to avoid possible surprises. As for humanitarian aid, they often mention the possibility of lifting the ramp at Idomeni for the shipment of crude oil for heating hospitals, schools, and other institutions not only in Macedonia but also in Serbia.

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Drnovsek Wants Foreign Relations Expert for FM

AU2310205794 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 19 Oct 94 p 2

[Article by Vladimir Vodusek: "Janez Drnovsek To Seek the Minister Among Diplomats"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ljubljana, 18 Oct—At the request of the prime minister, outgoing Foreign Minister [FM] Lojze Peterle will be performing his duties until the end of the month. According to government sources, Drnovsek will not be seeking a new foreign minister among party personages in the coalition, but among diplomats. The name mentioned most frequently is Dr. Ernest Petric. However, Lojze Peterle, chairman of the Christian Democrats, will most probably remain as deputy prime minister.

As we have learned unofficially, Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek is soon going to inform the Christian Democrats that their candidate, Dr. Andrej Umek, does not have the sufficient support among the coalition partners for the post of foreign minister. The leadership of the Liberal Democracy spoke out against him. Lojze Peterle's recent statement that, in the event of new circumstances he is ready to be a candidate for foreign affairs minister again, has attracted much attention. [passage omitted]

That the Christian Democrats have great merits in the recognition of our state is a fact acknowledged by their coalition partners. Lojze Peterle is the most acceptable political figure for negotiations with Italy, and the government is convinced that he would successfully bring the Berlusconi-Drnovsek meeting to an end. However, it is known that the Christian Democrats and Peterle as foreign minister have been reproached for insufficient insistence in the role of the winning coalition in World War II, as well as the role Italy played at the time—in other words, that Peterle headed the Foreign Ministry in too much of an ideological way. To keep peace within the coalition, Dr. Drnovsek will try to find a man who is currently not politically active but an expert in foreign relations. However, such people can be counted on one hand.

Ethnic Hungarians Complain to Visiting Speaker

LD2010222994 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 2000 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Hungarian National Assembly Speaker Zoltan Gal heads the six-party Hungarian delegation that is currently visiting Slovenia. [passage omitted] In Lendava, they met leaders of the Hungarian National Community of Prekmurje.

The representatives of the ethnic Hungarians in Slovenia briefed the visitors about the situation of the Hungarian minority. Among other things, they said that the creation of new local government administrative areas or districts was under way in Slovenia. In the course of drawing district borders, regrettably, several Hungarian settlements were merged with Slovenian districts, despite the fact that the Hungarians living there had voted for independence.

Zoltan Gal said in reply that the agreement signed between the two countries guaranteed the rights of minorities in this respect, when new local government units were to be established.

During the discussion, the Hungarian parliamentary leader stressed that relations between the two countries were exemplary and multifaceted.

Christian Democrats Reelect Peterle as President

AU2410091794 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The congress of the Slovene Christian Democrats [SKD] last night reelected Lojze Peterle as party president. Vida Cadonic Spelic was elected the party's secretary general, and Peter Vencelj and Janko Dezelak vice presidents. Izidor Rejc remained president of the SKD Council.

The congress is not over yet because it failed to elect all party officials due to lack of a quorum. Work was interrupted at 0300 today. It is the party council that will decide about the continuation of the party.

After a whole day's debate, the party adopted a new statute and an amended party program last night. The statute still provides for the existence of party factions. However, contrary to their demands, it does not allow them to participate in the Executive Committee. The congress also rejected the system according to which the party president nominates the Executive Committee and substantially reduced the number of members in this body.

The changes to the party program were not major; they were mostly of an editorial nature. A brief polemic was sparked only by the amendment to the section that refers to compensation for injustices and reconciliation. The new text no longer refers to the national liberation struggle but, rather, to the bloody revolution in the years 1941 to 1945.

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Federal

Russian Economic Delegation Meets With Milosevic

LD2410145294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 24 Oct (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received a delegation from the Russian Chamber of the Economy headed by its president, Stanislav Smirnov. The talks were also attended by Mihajlo Milojevic and Vlajko Stojilkovic, the presidents of the Yugoslav and Serbian chambers of the economy.

The guests informed President Milosevic about current topical issues in mutual economic cooperation, especially prospects for the promotion of trade and links between partners from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Russian Federation. They conveyed to President Milosevic the support voiced by Russian businessmen for the lifting of all sanctions and pointed to the need for joint efforts aimed at establishing normal and dynamic economic cooperation between Yugoslav and Russian companies.

Joint interest was expressed in an intensive exchange of specialized delegations from all branches of the economy, as well as in the establishment of closer links between regional chambers.

The meeting, it was said, was also attended by the Russian Ambassador to Belgrade Gennadiy Shikin.

Russian, Yugoslav Commerce Representatives Meet

LD2410184894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1722 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce and visiting Russian Chamber of Commerce and industry representatives met in Belgrade Monday to discuss bilateral relations.

The representatives said the two countires faced structural obstacles to trasde in addition to the blockade created by the United Nations sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce President Mihajlo Milojevic nevertheless spoke of the potential for cooperation in the power supply and electric machinery industry.

He said the agricultural, civil engineering, chemical and pharmaceutical industry, ship building and metallurgy sectors were also potential areas of trade cooperation.

Milojevic said the two chambers should improve their information links and should assist in developing ties between individual companies.

Russian Chamber President Stanislav Smirnov described Russian moves to set up a business information system and other activities.

Both men said a recently signed Russia-Yugoslavia agreement on economic cooperation opened wide business prospects for the post-sanctions period based on convertible payments, barter arrangements and special concessions.

The Russian delegation also met with Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic. They told Kontic that existing agreements between Yugoslavia and Russia should be maintained as the route to restored trade ties after the sanctions.

Central Bank Reports Offer by Foreign Investors

LD2410114494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1131 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Central Bank Deputy Governor Zarko Trbojevic has said private foreign investors have offered almost a billion dollars in credits to Yugoslavia.

In a statement carried by the Belgrade review of economic affairs, Trbojevic said the offers were for medium-term credits with a repayment period of between 5 and 25 years, which had been offered directly to the National Bank of Yugoslavia (Central Bank).

He said the credits would be used primarily for financing projects of importance to the Yugoslav economic recovery program.

The program was launched on Jan. 24 in conditions of a total economic blockade and has by October stabilized the currency and boosted production.

Trbojevic did not say where the offers of credits had come from, except to say the future creditors came from both neighboring and distant countries.

Central Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic said last week that some foreign investors were interested in investing in Yugoslavia.

Avramovic said it was good that the offers had come at a time of sanctions, clamped on the country two and a half years ago, and that Yugoslavia would contact the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as soon as the sanctions were lifted.

Yugoslav economists estimate that the economy will need at least one billion dollars in foreign investments to pick up after the lifting of the sanctions.

Yugoslavia's losses from the economic blockade are estimated at 45 billion dollars.

Bosnian Serbs Blamed for Fall in Exchange Rate

AU2510092494 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 94 pp 1-2

[Report by J. Putnikovic: "Black Friday on the Black Market"]

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[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade—There was real chaos on the black markets for foreign currency and gasoline this weekend. The German mark [DM] reached a head-spinning value. It was double the value of the official exchange rate of the dinar, and those who were desperate to change dinars for foreign currency were paying 200 dinars for DM100. Not falling behind the currency dealers, the gasoline "bosses" immediately corrected their prices and asked as much as 6 dinars for a liter of gasoline.

On Friday, in the big money exchange offices, which are rumored to be in collusion with state banks, the purchase price of a German mark was 50 percent higher and the selling price 70 percent higher than the dinar. The street exchange rate followed their line, though the dealers had to take good care not to be caught by plainclothes inspectors. [passage omitted]

The promise of Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic that foreign currency will again be sold in the banks (in those that remain solvent) on Monday did not convince foreign currency owners to start valuing the dinar more. On Sunday, DM1 was worth 2 dinars. Experts in foreign currency trends claim that the Serbs from the other side of the Drina River are to be blamed for the hike in the price on the black market. They have recently been trying to exchange their dinars for German marks in Serbia or Montenegro at any price. This is why, the experts say, the German mark was, for the first time, worth more in southern Serbia than in the Subotica region.

Frequent Shifts in Army Staff Viewed

AU2010181094 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 14 Oct 94 p 17

[Article by Batic Baticevic: "Sour Grapes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Connoisseurs of circumstances in the military say that in the past several years every single considerable political change that happened in the country also caused severe shakeups among the staff in the Yugoslav Army. It seems that this was a good enough reason for some military analysts to define the position of the army in the society by paraphrasing the famous statement of Professor Mihailo Djuric, which could now read: "Whenever Slobodan Milosevic bites into sour grapes, it is the generals whose teeth go numb."

Understandably, it sufficed that a weekly (NOVA NADA) brought out, instead of "exciting stories for an afternoon rest" or "useful advice for knitting or crocheting," the news about the reported removal of General Momcilo Perisic, to activate the entire staff carousel in the Yugoslav Army. Some would maliciously note, "after an entire year of repose."

Mladic's Footsteps

As one of the major reasons for Perisic's removal the military, customarily poorly informed circles state his closeness to General Mladic. Perisic himself was the first general who followed in Mladic's footsteps, considering him to be his teacher and paragon. Also significant is the fact that it was the Knin Corps, being under Mladic's command at the time, that helped Perisic and his reputed Artillery School in Zadar get out of the six-month blockade. As an additional reason for Perisic's suspension the weekly states his reckless statement at the time the Vance-Owen plan was turned down last year, when he, being the commander of the 3d Army District, sided with and resolutely supported the Bosnian [Serb] leadership. Before his appointment, Perisic stated several times: "Unfortunately, we have had many lawful leaders, but quite few natural leaders whom the people would follow. Let me say one more thing: One has to develop the sense of foresight and independent decision-making among the people. In this war it was seen that many generals were not a match for many politicians, not because they were intellectually or educationally inferior, but rather because they were naive." Before his appointment as chief of the General Staff, Perisic's behavior gave the impression of a courageous and sovereign general, while among his subordinates he earned high reputation by statements like this: "If I try to surrender and give up you or our country, kill me right away."

However, it is enough for anybody to raise certain questions—Why would the correct relations be the reason for Perisic's removal? Are not the relations of both the Serbian authorities and Perisic with Mladic identical?—to realize that the entire theory is quite feeble. Because, according to some rather reliable sources, Milosevic does not intend to start an open conflict with Mladic right now, so until then Perisic remains in his seat. A somewhat more banal, if not insignificant, reason is based on a simpler fact, that the possibility of Perisic's removal had been predicted by the radicals' leader Vojislav Seselj even before NOVA NADA revealed it. Some political analysts who are familiar with the nature of the Serbian authorities raise the question: Has the regime allowed any opposition leader to be in the right so far? Hardly.

Military Pacifists

On the other hand, Milosevic's huge desire to prove himself to the world as a humanist and pacifist is believed to be a more serious campaign. In order for that turn toward peace to appear more authentic, it is necessary to remove war generals. That theory is considerably upheld by recent staff changes in the Yugoslav Army. The two high officers who have recently accomplished the most significant rise in hierarchy, Generals Blagoje Kovacevic and Nedeljko Copic, did not play any role in the bloody, inhuman war, while the general who has been pensioned off with a mysterious explanation ("as required by duty"), Bozidar Djokic, has always been considered in the army circles to be a tough nationalist. Thereafter Kovacevic, newly appointed Perisic's deputy, considered by many to be the future chief, turns up in

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Novi Sad, accompanying Supreme Commander of the Yugoslav Army Zoran Lilic, where he expresses his conviction once more that as far as the army is concerned, peace does not have any alternative whatsoever.

However, Milosevic has no problems with the radical nationalist stream in the Yugoslav Army, because by pensioning off Seselj's followers and nationally aware generals last year he has already eliminated that stream. Cynical observers say that by pensioning off more than 120 generals in the past three years, generals who fostered either communist, or Yugoslav, or great Serbian ideas, only generals without any ideas have remained in the Yugoslav Army. Those left will be shaped in accordance with current needs, like a greenish-gray [the color of their uniforms] amorphous mass. For that reason the malicious remark that it is easer to suspend the chief of the General Staff than the director of a Belgrade kindergarten does not sound implausible.

Political Option

If the army is already so insignificant, the question is how come there exists such an interest in the army and its staff changes. Some high officers believe that the government wants to marginalize the army totally and create the nucleus of the future Serbian army out of the more powerful police. To confirm their theory they invoke the data that the members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] are being trained for typically military jobs: tank drivers, gunners, 120-mm mortar and antiaircraft gun crews. All this is accompanied with the regime's tendencies to keep the army on the social minimum, encourage the theories about various shifts in the cadre, and revive scandals (Trifunovic's trial for the third time). Some officers even believe that the state is treating them like the former secessionist republics did, while a respectable Belgrade weekly reports on the MUP's rude behavior toward officers and soldiers of the Yugoslav Army, and mentions the already traditional police joke—twisting of testicles.

Less probable, but therefore more frequently mentioned among the members of the military establishment is the theory based on Milosevic's alleged distrust of the too-powerful police. In the police there are too many nationally self-conscious Serbs from across the Drina, while there is also a considerable number of people involved in some illegal and uncontrolled dealings with the criminal underground. So, according to the theory, the army would get a chance to consolidate and become a counterbalance to the police that is becoming more and more powerful. Also, in some brighter future the demand of the Air Force would be met, which has been insisting already for several years on the reorganization of the army according to the U.S. model: to form separate staffs for air force, ground forces, and navy that would have a joint staff, headed by a man in blue [referring to a general of Air Force], while Perisic, with whom the whole story started, would be pensioned off and later appointed defense minister.

In order for this unrealistic and rather expensive psychological construction devised by the gentlemen in greenish-gray and blue to come to realization, it is necessary to fulfill just a small precondition: to show more assurance, flexibility, and loyalty to the regime than the police do. Which is rather difficult.

Serbia

Serbia To Build Refugee Communities in Kosovo

LD2410185294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1748 GMT 24 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, Oct. 24 (TANJUG)—The Serbian commissioner for refugees on Monday upheld an initiative to build a refugee community in Kosovo Polje, in the Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohija.

At a meeting with the Kosovo Polje leadership, Bratislava Morina pledged the commissioner's assistance in building communities for Serb refugees from former Yugoslav republics.

Morina said that the community in Kosovo Polje would accommodate about 300 refugees.

Morina explained that priority would be given to young experts willing to settle in Kosovo and Metohija. They would have to sign 30-year contracts under which they might not sell apartments or houses they obtained in Kosovo and Metohija.

Morina said that the refugee community near Vucitrn, also in Kosovo and Metohija will, as envisaged, be completed before this year is out.

Montenegro

President Seeks Normalized Relations With Albania

LD2410194694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1923 GMT 24 Oct 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro President Momir Bulatovic has said Yugoslavia's aim and interest was to normalize relations with Albania.

Bulatovic told the independent Albanian daily KOHA JONE in an interview that relations could be normalized through a necessarily democratic process.

He said the process should rely on equality and observe the generally accepted norms in inter-state relations.

He said his 1993 visit to Albania should be seen as a visit of a president of one of two federal units of Yugoslavia, the state with unified foreign policy.

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Relations between the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro and Albania have been disturbed by Albania's support for the ethnic Albanian separatist movement in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija. The movement advocates Kosovo's secession from Serbia and Yugoslavia and its merger with Albania.

Bulatovic said the process of democratic reforms in the Balkan countries and a prospect of further development of the entire international community, and primarily the disclaiming of the policy of force, could turn the Balkans into a region of peace and cooperation.

He said Montenegro and Yugoslavia would engage themselves in every initiative for closer contacts in favor of peace as the best interest of all the Balkan states.

He said the best way to resolve all inter-state conflicts was through direct negotiations and agreement. He said the major powers' good offices were useful as long as their activities remained within this domain.

Changes in Yugoslav Army Command Examined

AU2010160394 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 14 Oct 94 pp 12, 13

[Article by Vladimir Jovanovic: "Generals on a Slippery Slope"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After a six-day delay the public was subsequently informed about certain staff changes in the army that—in the already known context—have become particularly interesting. General Jevrem Cokic, commander of the Belgrade army, has been pensioned off. He is the officer who complained last spring about the incredibly poor call-up among conscripts in his responsibility area, which, at least in terms of manpower, should be the pillar of the Yugoslav Army. The public did not have the honor to find out who has replaced General Cokic, as well as what happened with his deputy, General Dragoljub Ojdanic, former commander of the Uzice Corps and member of the command staff of the Drina Operative Group, who was most probably involved in the transactions between the Serbian military leadership and the Pale government.

What is known for sure is that Admiral Dojcilo Isakovic, commander of the Navy, has retired. His name brings back the legend about the construction of the Serbian river submarine (!?) that could reportedly endanger Budapest and Vienna going up the Danube, German ports in the North Sea through the channel Rhine-Main-Danube, and finally London through the Thames!....

Gina in Podgorica

Admiral Isakovic was interesting to Montenegrins for at least three reasons: A. His threat of 29 November last year that the Navy would deal with and clear up the issue of pillages done during the raid on Konavle [near Dubrovnik], has fit in with the comical sight of his ships in Boka Kotorska—wrecks parading from Lustica to Kumbor; B. The construction of a new navy base in Valdanos Bay northwest of Ulcinj, which he announced at the same time and at the same place, does not have a chance to come to realization, while the only effect it has produced so far have been complaints by ecologists; C. Finally, Admiral Isakovic had close relations (the term taken from Mihajlo Markovic) with the local Serbian extremists, originally from Herzegovina, which commonly caused spontaneous people's revolts, just like in Tivt some time ago. Clearly, the wrath of the people cannot be denied.

If he had carefully read the MONITOR, Admiral Isakovic would have known that something was being cooked up for him in Belgrade. In June this year Milan Zec, captain of a warship, was finally promoted to admiral (equivalent to major general), which was a sign that popular the Dojcilo's number was up. Philosophically observing the horizon of the Montenegrin sea, in early September Isakovic received foreign military attaches accredited to Belgrade. On the "Kotor" patrol boat Isakovic informed the guests about the situation in the region, with a particular review of the problem of Prevlaka. Rather than at the review, which triggered an avalanche of jokes, the foreign military attaches were particularly surprised at his ignorance regarding the prospects for his further career. The admiral either stubbornly defied the foreign attaches, as some journalists claim, or he really did not know that he would be replaced soon. Be that as it may, new Admiral Zec does not lack experience: until August last year he was the commander of the Fleet (a part of the Navy), after which General Perisic appointed him to the General Staff.

It is particularly interesting what is happening in the staff of the (so-called Montenegrin) 2nd Army, that is, the Podgorica Corps. There were indications as early as June that General Bozidar Babic could soon be granted an honorable pension, since the problems in which the aforementioned general got stuck piled up. Until then a major general, Babic was promoted to general (together with General Samardzic of the 3d Army) in June, however the impression remained that it was more a formal act. It seems that the acute problem was and still is criminality, so the legal proceedings against those accused of appropriating war spoils from the Dubrovnik epoch have not yet started out of recognizable reasons, although copious documentation is kept in the military-judicial institutions in Podgorica. These days a special inspection team (Gina) [expansion unknown] has been sent there, but the issue is being hushed up, although General Babic says in an interview for POBJEDA that the army is completely open for its people, and it has no secrets.

Speaking about changes in the army in that same interview, Babic mentions the necessity of being able to adjust to everything, and even to the current change in morality. Then he says: "Most important is that, in the situation when everything is changed in the country,

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starting with its borders to its system, proprietary relations, economy, and even morality, the army is capable of accommodating to that."

Detailed Examination of Conscripts

Speaking of objective difficulties, primarily the housing problem, Babic says that the combat morale among the soldiers is not affected by that at all. On the contrary, it is growing stronger.... "Our senior officers and civil employees are very motivated, and they are performing several jobs at the same time," General Babic claims. Is he right?

Judging by the opinion of his subordinate, stated at a seminar in Podgorica early this year (the excerpts of which have become available to the expert part of the public), the real situation is quite unlike Babic's assessments. The chief of the General Staff of the Podgorica Corps, Colonel Momcilo Damjanovic (not to be confused with General R. Damjanovic) stressed that a part of the senior officers did not take the training seriously, they had insufficiently prepared themselves, and paid little attention to their personal education and progress. "Serious difficulties in the furtherance of the training have been caused by the lack of senior staff in certain posts, frequent absence of senior officers and soldiers from the training, and insufficient knowledge of new curriculums," Colonel Damjanovic said then.

However, he also spoke about the palpable lack of interest among some soldiers-contractors, which is the reason why 256 such soldiers were dismissed last year. Colonel Damjanovic also pointed to the lack of reserve staff, the current participation in which ranges from 25 percent (predominantly in highly populated areas) to 55 percent (in less populated areas).

It seems that the reserve, that is, the people's army has experienced a certain inner differentiation, so that only the loyal are being summoned. This comes, perhaps, as a result of an interesting theory, saying that in the case of a new war—if the arms were dealt out to the Montenegrins without special preventive measures—nobody could be sure in which direction they would point those arms!

Philosophically digesting the problem last summer in VOJSKA, General Babic indirectly referred to the phenomenon: "True, among the reserve there were certain problems even during the war, mostly due to different parties' interference. However, I think that we, thanks precisely to that influence, have examined our reserve to details, and eliminated from those units all those who proved themselves incapable or waverers." By this sensational revelation General Babic proves at least two things: that the army in Montenegro makes lists of the desirable—I guess, supporters of the ruling party and some patriotic ones—and that the army in Montenegro carefully examines its conscripts, which in technical terms means keeping files on them (euphemism for records), which is done by expert services like KOS [Counterintelligence Service]. At the same time this is a proof that the military leadership in Podgorica does not feel that the political orientation toward sovereign Montenegro is actually a right of Montenegrins to their own political attitude. On the contrary.

[Box, p 12]

The position of General Babic is perhaps understandable to a degree. On the eve of the outbreak of the war he was an anonymous officer in 395th Motorized Regiment of the JNA in Brcko, which was a springboard to a ministerial post later on, after which he was appointed commander of the fictitious 2nd Army, which includes the Podgorica and Uzice Corps. General Babic's say counts only up to Gostun (Serbian-Montenegrin border), since beyond Mount Zlatibor hardly anybody asks him for an opinion. Still, thanks to Bulatovic's support, he rose to the until then unimaginable position for him, and is now repaying it with his infinite gratitude. Last year Bulatovic managed to get rid of the conspicuously Serbian generals from the 2nd Army (Generals Strugar, Damjanovic, and so forth). Now he is breathing more easily, so instead of celebrations in memory of uprisings in Pljevlje, which used to take place on Army Day, now the celebrations are held in memory of the role of the Pljevlje frontier garrison in Cajnice and Foca, that is, the Serbian republic.

In recent years, however, young Montenegrins have been called up to army service in ever smaller numbers, while the officers' authority, apart from honorable exceptions, has never been lower in Montenegro. This speaks for the fact that the army is on a slippery slope among the people, and the assessment of the General Staff is that Montenegrin officers, of course those loyal to Belgrade, should retain or take up key positions. This is where we should look for an answer to the question why Admiral Isakovic was pensioned off, while General Babic remained in his position. However, this does not bring about long term solutions, and only the deliberately naive may find comfort in them, since in the Montenegrin staff there has always been enough of Colonel Pesic's duplicates.

Kosovo

Rugova News Conference on Serb 'Repression'

AU2410185794 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No 470 in English 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Repression in Kosova has been continuing with impunity, President of the Republic of Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said in a press conference today in Prishtina. "Home raids under the pretext of arms searches have been taking place throughout Kosova. These raids are usually followed up by diverse ill-treatment of people," President Rugova said. Continuing, President Rugova remarked that a number of Albanian youths, who had deserted the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and the war in Croatia, were

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forcefully conscripted in the Serbian army last week. He called for the attention of the international community with special respect to the violation by Serbian authorities of the internationally recognized provisions concerning war deserters. President Rugova said also that Albanian political activists and educational officials were targeted during the last week, taking mention of the arrest and ill-treatment of the Peja local LDK [Democratic League of Kosovo], ACDP [Albanian Christian Democratic Party of Kosova] and human rights activists. "Staged political trials against Albanians have further increased tensions in Kosova. Eight Albanians were sentenced last week in such a process in Mitrovica, whereas, yesterday the Serbian Court in Prishtina pronounced the sentence to the KCC [expansion unknown] officials," said President Rugova urging an immediate release of all Albanian political prisoners. Given this repression, and the very tense situation in Kosova, President Rugova requested an increased international presence and protection in Kosova. He also demanded that Kosova be a part of a global solution to the crises in former Yugoslavia and in the Balkans. Continuing, Dr. Rugova hailed the speech of Albanian ambassador to the UN delivered before the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly, who portrayed the question of Kosova and the situation in the region. "The international community has already acknowledged Kosova as an international problem, as it has been a part of the former federation, and it will be treated accordingly. If and when a mutual recognition of former republics eventuates, we will demand recognition of the Republic of Kosova," President Rugova said in reply to a question of the Zagreb-based VJESNIK correspondent. The same reporter asked President Rugova's comments on "reemergence of the Serbian movement of Fushk Kosova (Kosovo Polje)." President Rugova said that this was a repeated manipulation with the people in Kosova. "Serbs are now opposing their own installed regime in Kosova, but unfortunately accompanied with accusations against the Albanians. We have repeatedly claimed that we will guarantee all the rights to the Serbs. I wouldn't like to see Serb citizens in Kosova confront with their neighbours with whom they will have to co-habituate," President Rugova remarked. Asked to comment on the frequent visits to Kosova by foreign diplomats, Dr. Rugova said that it promotes further internationalization of the Kosova issue.

Resurgence of Serb 'Resistance Movement' Viewed

AU2410210894 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No 470 in English 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Serbian chauvinist "resistance movement" of the 1980's in Kosova which brought Slobodan Milosevic to the political fore feeding on a strong anti-Albanian platform is re-emerging. The movement's goal—to strip Kosova of its constitutional identity as a federal unit, and to subjugate Albanians, as a "minority" (sic!), to second rate citizens' position—was mouthed in the June 1989 600th anniversary of the Kosova Battle, when Milosevic announced the "second coming", a move which would not rule out, as he said in Gazimestan, "armed warfare."

The crackdown on Kosova marked the beginning of the Serbian campaign of realizing the "Greater Serbia" scheme which was to include waging wars on non-Serb peoples of the former Yugoslavia. Exactly the same people who led the "resistance movement" which installed Milosevic in power—Kosta Bulatovic, Bosko Budimirovic, Miroslav Solevic and others—have initialled a petition urging the Serbian/Yugoslav authorities to "solve the Serbian question in this part of Serbia" (i.e. in Kosova). The hero of the "second coming", President Milosevic of Serbia, is now reprimanded because he has, in the Serbian "resistance movement" leaders' opinion, taken chances.

To put it in a nutshell, the Serbian leadership is scourged for not having "settled" the so-called Serbian question once and for ever by driving non-Serb communities from all the territories the Serbs want to lay a hand on. In addition, that would mean not only suppressing Kosova and its 2 million Albanians in every possible way, but also changing the ethnic structure in favour of Serbs, so as to make the Kosova Serbs and Montenegrins (comprising hardly 7 percent of Kosova population) a majority vis-a-vis the 90 percent Albanian population of Kosova.

As the President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova has been warning, a quiet ethnic cleansing has been under way in Kosova, due to the Serbian crackdown on Albanians and the policy advocating a change of ethnic composition. The agents who produced Milosevic into a president want an even fiercer action against the Albanians and Kosova. Today's Belgrade-based Serbian daily BORBA quotes the demands put forward in the petition the Serbian "resistance movement" in Kosova have initialled, which has been floating since August 1994 and been only now made public. "Sharing the feeling of responsibility for the fate of the Serbian people in Kosovo and Metohija," the petition authors demand: "...urgent measures for halting the Albaniasation and losing of Kosmet"; "the destruction of the parallel Albanian state, the so-called republic of Kosovo"; "an urgent action towards creating the mechanisms and undertaking measures for the defense of the Serbian people from Albanian separatism and majorization"; an "urgent adoption of a program for the colonization of Kosmet and allocation of money for its putting in place"; "promulgating a law on citizenship and the resolution of the question of Albanian emigrants," etc.

The premises on which the petition text rests are sheer slanders. First, Albaniasation is not taking place in Kosova. Second, there is no "parallel state" in Kosova; it is the Republic of Kosova endorsed by the overwhelming majority of the people in a democratic way. Third, the Serbian program for colonization of Kosova has already

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been adopted by the Serbian Parliament, and money allocated towards its institution. Fourth, there is nothing such as a question of "Albanian emigrants" (meaning people from Albania settled in Kosova) as was duly made public in the Serbian/Yugoslav Parliaments in the late eighties in the wake of the Serbian "resistance movement" (not more the 700 persons were recorded to be Albanian emigrants!). Albanian analysts in Kosova think that even this resurging Serbian "resistance movement" and their fanatical demands have been mandated by the Serbian regime. The criticism of Milosevic is only a cover-up, these analysts say.

Albanian Leader Says Situation 'Deteriorating'

AU2410213294 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT No 470 in English 21 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The chairman of the Albanian Christian Democrat Party of Kosova (ACDP), Dr. Mark Krasniqi, in a letter sent recently to international organizations, presidents and governments of European countries and world leading countries, warns of the deterioration of situation in Kosova and appeals for protection of the innocent Albanian people of Kosova. "The infuriated Serbian police has been attacking on a daily basis Albanian towns and villages throughout Kosova, raiding on Albanian homes, plundering them, ill-treating and humiliating them solely because they happen to be Albanians.... The situation has been rapidly deteriorating as a result of the institutionalized Serbian regime violence adamant to destroy everything what is Albanian", says the ACDP chairman.

In his letter, Dr. Krasniqi presented an account of the various methods of Serbian regime oppression against Albanian people of Kosova, including en masse arrests and detention, arbitrary sentences, staged and fraudulent political trials, intimidations and harassment of innocent people, aiming at an ethnic cleansing of Kosova and fulfilling the Serbian goal for a Greater Serbia. The ACDP chairman calls upon the world dignitaries to use their authority and power and bring to an end the wild Serbian regime violence, to support the peaceful policies the Albanians have been pursuing, and enable the people of Kosova to themselves decide on their fate.

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